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HISTORY

OF THE

SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY,

AND

DEFENCE OF ENNISKILLEN,

in In

1688 AND 1689.

BY THE

REV. JOHN GRAHAM, M.A.,

RECTOR OF TAMLAGHTARD IN THE DIOCESE OF DERRY.

"Hail, sacred walls! while circling years shall flow, Or genial suns illume this vale below; While sparkling stars diffuse their distant light, And cheer with fainter beams the sable night— while you blue arch with sun or stars shall shine, Be thine the triumph as the wo was thine; Be thine the triumph as the wo was thine; May all thy citizens, supremely blest, Unite the hero's with the patriot's breast, And, like their sires, unrivall'd in renown, Maintain our liberties, our church, and crown."



PHILADELPHIA:

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1844.

"GRAHAM'S HISTORY OF THE SIEGE OF DERBY."

I have inquired for this work in many bookstores, and have sent to New York and Boston for it by persons who have, as they said, diligently sought for it and could not find it, and were, in several instances, told it was out of print.

There are in this country, scattered from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, thousands of the descendants of the heroes of Derry and the Boyne, who cherish with fond recollections the traditions of their fathers in relation to the desperate conflict between William III. and James II. and their armies, which resulted in securing to Protestants the liberty of conscience we now enjoy. Now, when Catholics are making such rapid strides to power in our country, I am convinced that many hundreds of the descendants of the Scotch Irish in the United States would avail themselves of the possession of that old book to refresh their memories in regard to the cost of our liberties as Protestants and the valiant deeds of their fathers, if it could be procured.

T-y, Mo., March 16, 1865.

John C. Clark, Printer, 60 Dock Strees

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THE DESCENDANTS

OF THE

HEROIC DEFENDERS

OF

LONDONDERRY AND ENNISKILLEN,

THE FOLLOWING WORK

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THEIR FAITHFUL AND

DEVOTED SERVANT,

JOHN GRAHAM.

MAGILLIGAN GLEBE, January 1st, 1829.



THE ARMES OF THE CITTY OF DERRY WERE AT FIRST, WHEN THE HON. SIR HENRY DOCWRA, KNIGHT. MADE THE PLANTATION THERE AGAINST THE ARCH TRAI-TOUR HUGH SOMETYME EARLE OF TYRONE, THE PICTURE OF DEATH (OR A SKELETON) SITTING ON A MOSSIE STONE, AND IN THE DEXTER POINT A CASTLE. AND FORASMUCH AS THAT CITTY WAS SINCE MOST TRAITEROUSLY SACKED AND DESTROYED BY SIR CAHIRE (OR SIR CHARLES) O'DOGHARTY, AND HATH SINCE BEEN (AS IT WERE) RAISED FROM THE DEAD BY THE WORTHY UNDERTAKING OF THE HON. CITTY OF LONDON, IN MEMORY WHEREOF IT IS FROM HENCEFORTH CALLED AND KNOWN BY THE NAME OF LONDON-DERRY, I HAVE, AT THE REQUEST OF JOHN ROWLEY, NOW FIRST MAYOR OF THAT CITTY AND THE CUMMUNALTY OF THE SAME, SET FORTH THE SAME WITH AN ADDITION OF A CHIEFE OF LONDON, AS HERE APPEARETH; AND FOR CONFIRMATION THEREOF, I HAVE HEREUNTO SET MY HAND AND SEALE THIS FIRST OF JUNE, M.D.C.XIII.

DAN. MOLINEUX, Ulster King of Armes.

PREFACE.

The first account which appeared in print of the memorable Siege of Derry, in 1689, was the Diary of it published by the Rev. George Walker; in the autumn of that year. Actively employed, at a very advanced period of life, in an arduous situation, for the duties of which he had not been prepared by education or experience, there is more cause to wonder at the ability with which he discharged them, and the accuracy with which he recorded them, than to be surprised at his deficiencies either as a commander or an historian.

The address to King William and Queen Mary, prefixed to his Diary, is a masterpiece in its kind, bearing internal evidence of its coming from the pen of a great and good man. In it he boasts only of the double comfort of the testimony of a good conscience, and the gracious acceptance of his services by their Majesties. He expresses gratitude for the royal bounty extended to himself, and omits not to recommend the services of his fellow-sufferers. He apologizes, as a churchman, for having acted in that service a part which might, with more propriety, have been done by other hands—refers all honour that could accrue to him, to that great Being

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in whose hand no instrument is weak; and with equal modesty and eloquence concludes by observing, that although he had shown but little art or skill in what he presumed to lay before their Majesties' feet, it had ornaments more valuable than either—natural simplicity, sincerity, and plain truth.

All these were, however, soon afterwards questioned with a degree of asperity perhaps unparalleled on any other occasion; but with all the omissions and mistakes charged upon his Diary, he carried away the palm of applause from his rivals, affording to posterity an additional proof that an Ulysses is always an overmatch for an Ajax, and that the hero capable of recording his own actions, and wise enough to do so with modesty and without exaggeration, is more likely to get full credit for his merits, than the illiterate warrior who requires another man's pen to do justice to them.

The applause which immediately followed the publication of Walker's Diary in London was unbounded. The heroic author basked in a sunshine of royal and popular favour, seldom beaming upon the head of any one man at the same time, however great his worth, or important his services. King William's munificent bounty to him, was a matter of policy as well as gratitude, scarce less beneficial to the giver than to the receiver of it. The Whigs, who were even then ready enough to be troublesome to their deliverer, and soon afterwards made him weary of his crown and his life together, hailed it as an act which reflected equal honour upon both; and the celebrated Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, thus re-echoed the voice of the public upon Walker's promotion to the See of Derry,

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in his Letter to Lady Russel of the 19th of September, 1689:—

"The king, besides his first bounty to Mr. Walker (£5000,) whose modesty is equal to his merit, hath made him Bishop of Londonderry, one of the best Bishoprics in Ireland. It is incredible how much every body is pleased with what his Majesty hath done in this matter, and it is no small joy to me to see that Gop directs him do so wisely."

On the 19th of November, in the same year, he received the thanks of the House of Commons; and on the 26th of February following, the University of Oxford, with that regard to the Protestant interest which still characterizes it, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. Sir Godfrey Kneller, at the king's command, drew his picture; and copperplates struck off from it were dispersed through the three kingdoms. In some of the prints he is drawn with a Bible open at the 20th chapter of Exodus in one hand, and a drawn sword in the other. His garment of a purple colour, and a large old fashioned band, form a strong contrast to the military sash appearing in crimson folds about his waist. A copy of this curious print hung for half a century over the parlour fire-place of a tavern in Londonderry. It was seen by the Author a few years ago in the possession of the late Lieutenant Walker of the Royal Navy, who kindly permitted him to have a copy taken of it. About eighty years ago, either the original or a copy of Kneller's portrait of the venerable hero was in possession of Mr. Hunter, a painter in Dublin; from it, tradition says, the likeness of Walker on the tapestry in the Irish House of Lords was taken. It was sold by Mr. Hunter to Mr. Joshua Deane, of Palace

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Row, Dublin, who claimed a collateral descent from Walker. In his house it remained for fifty years, and after his death it was purchased by John Boyd, Esq., by whose permission it is carried annually, on the 7th of December, to Morrison's hotel, in Dublin, where a numerous and highly respectable Society of the descendants of the defenders of Londonderry assemble to honour the glorious memory of their ancestors. Each of the members of this Irish Pitt Club, as it may be called, wears on his breast, for that night, a medal impressed with a likeness of Governor Walker.

It was not to be expected that such merit should escape the shafts of envy, or that the applause or remuneration it gained should not elicit censure. In this, as in all similar cases, the shadow pursued the substance, and before the close of the same eventful year, the author found it necessary to publish a vindication of his Diary. A severe rejoinder soon appeared, animadverting upon the failures of his account of the siege; and in a vindication of the aspersed character of Colonel Mitchelburn, published in 1692, the following invidious comparison was made between the merits of that renowned officer and his reverend colleague:—

"Though loud-tongued fame so highly has blown up the great renown of Doctor Walker in England, as truly much praise was due to him for having been so great an animator of the Protestant cause in these worst of times, which it was his duty to do, yet after the death of Colonel Baker, which happened in the height of the town's distress and deepest calamities, Colonel Mitchelburn was in joint command with the Doctor, whose conduct appeared more conspicuous in the eating part than the fighting part; and good reason, the charge

of the stores and provisions being committed to him alone, whilst his brother Governor was only the marshal colleague, and had the entire management of the town's defence."

Mackenzie's more copious narrative was published for the author in London, in 1690, to rectify, as the title page announces, the mistakes, and supply the omissions of Mr. Walker's account. He states himself to have been chaplain to a regiment during the siege, and in a preface of nearly twelve octavo pages, professes "to disabuse the world," which he alleges "had been grossly imposed upon in certain ridiculous attempts, not only to make a chief governor, but a mighty hero, of Dr. Walker, and that not only in the account of the siege published in his own name, but in papers of others who had published panegyrics upon him." He asserts, that in these publications "Governor Baker had been pilfered of several of his merited plumes, and Mr. Walker adorned with them."

It would appear from Mackenzie's narrative, that Walker, whom he thus represents as a jackdaw covered with stolen feathers, had been accustomed, during his government, to intrigue with the enemy, and embezzle the public stores committed to his charge; accusations of such a nature as to render his continuance in office morally impossible, had they been substantiated. The only result of them, according to Mackenzie's own narrative, was, that those who suspected Walker's intention to betray the town to the enemy, made a private agreement with each other to keep a good reserve for the prevention of it, and that an order of Council was issued, that his orders should not be accepted by the keepers of the stores unless when signed by the other Governor, or

Major Adams. With respect to these charges, the following observations from a late history of the British Revolution, by a respectable Roman Catholic gentleman, may be quoted (Moore, 448—London, 1817), supported as they are by Walker's own refutation of his calumniators:—

"As the defence of the city rested in a great measure with Walker, every artifice was employed to shake the confidence of the garrison in their opinion of his constancy and fidelity. Traitors in the pay of James's generals, assuming the common disguise of fanatics, framed and propagated rumours calculated to bring both into discredit. They impudently asserted, that while all others in the town were reduced to absolute famine, he had plenty of provisions stored in his house. Walker directed some soldiers to rise, as if in a mutiny, and search his house in the face of the whole town. By these means he confuted the calumny, and enjoyed more firmly than ever the confidence of the inhabitants."

Captain Ash's Journal of the Siege did not appear until the year 1792, when it was published in Derry by his grand-daughter. It is very brief, and like Walker's and Mackenzie's, mentions very few of the transactions of the other parts of Ulster during the period of the siege, the knowledge of which is absolutely necessary to those who would fully understand the history of that interesting period. Walker, in his relation of the transactions at Derry, passes at once from the 9th of December, 1688, to the 14th of the ensuing month of March; Mackenzie, from the 18th of January to the 15th of March; and Ash, from the 17th of December to the 13th of April. Among McPherson's original papers published in 1775, there is an extract from memoirs of

James II., stated to have been written by that unhappy prince, who is said to have kept a journal of the occurrences of every day of his life. Little credit can be attached to this work, unless when supported by better authority; but some of the details in it may be used with advantage in supplying the deficiencies of the other narratives, particularly the letters written by the officers of his army during the siege.

From all these materials compared with each other, as well as from the general history of the country, the genealogy of private families of rank and property in these times, and every other source of information within the Author's reach, the following Diary has been drawn up, which, it is hoped, will be found much more satisfactory than any other account of the siege of Londonderry and defence of Enniskillen hitherto published.

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HISTORY

OF THE

SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY.

"Our Fathers who lived under the dread of Popery and arbitrary power, are, most of them, gone off the stage, and have carried with them the experience which we their sons stand in need of, to make us earnest to preserve the blessings of liberty and pure religion which they have bequeathed to us. Oh that I had words to represent to the present generation the miseries which their Fathers underwent, that I could describe their fears and anxieties, their restless nights and uneasy days, when every morning threatened to usher in the last day of England's liberty. Had men such a sense of the miseries of the time past, it would teach them what consequences they were to expect from any successful attempt against the present Establishment."—Sherlock.

As Ireland was doomed to be the arena upon which the fate of the liberty of the West of Europe was to be decided, so was it from this island that James II. received the first intelligence of the Prince of Orange's designs against him. The Earl of Tyrconnel obtained the earliest account of the preparations in Holland, by a ship which arrived in the bay of Dublin, and he lost no time in transmitting his report of it to the King. It was received with the utmost scorn and derision by the English Court; the Secretary ridiculed it in his reply to the viceroy, who, nevertheless, was observed to lower his tone towards the Protestants, and to talk of his impartiality in such a way as to indicate his desire to secure the confidence and intercession of some of them, in his apprehension of a reverse of fortune.

Chief Justice Nugent, however, echoed the bolder sentiments of the Romish party, in his charge to a Grand Jury, in which he promised the Prince of Orange the fate of the Duke of Monmouth, and declared his conviction that the Protestant rebels of England would, before the expiration of one short month, be seen hanging in all parts of it like bunches of onions.

The army in Ireland, at this time, amounted to eight thousand in number, and the Lord Lieutenant, in compliance with orders most injudiciously sent to him, transported one-half of them to England.—With respect to the city of Londonderry, this proved a most fortunate circumstance, and justly ascribed by Walker to the providential infatuation of the Chief Governor's counsels. On this occasion, Lord Mountjoy's entire regiment, which had been quartered in and about this city, was withdrawn from it, and the regret of the citizens at their departure, on account of their reliance on the nobleman who commanded it, as well as on a few Protestants among the officers and privates, may be noticed as a remarkable proof of the ignorance of man, in grieving at occurrences, for which he ought rather to rejoice. Had this regiment not been removed from the city, it would have been morally impossible for the inhabitants to resist the tyrant, and the possession of it, together with Carrickfergus and Belfast, by the adherents of James, would have opened such a communication between Ireland, Scotland, and the North of England, as must have frustrated every attempt at accomplishing the Revolution.

The troops which remained at the disposal of Tyrconnel were but a handful, compared to the Protestants capable of bearing arms, burning with impatience to wield them, and who had weapons enough in the city of Dublin alone, to enable them to disarm their adversaries. When they heard that James had sent commissioners to treat with their deliverer, it was with the utmost difficulty they were prevailed upon to refrain from seizing the Castle of Dublin, and making Tyrcon-

nel, who had only six hundred men to protect him, their prisoner. The constant arrival of expresses from England with accounts of the Prince's wonderful successes, so disheartened the Irish army, that they declared they were ready to lay down their arms, and satisfied to return to the condition in which they were during the preceding reign. Tyrconnel himself signified to the Protestants his desire that they would intimate this proposal to their friends in England, and stated that he was willing to resign the sword, with King James's permission, which he deemed it probable he would soon receive.

The Rev. William King, afterwards successively Bishop of Derry and Archbishop of Dublin, was at this time President of the Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, to the Deanery of which he succeeded on the 26th of January, 1689. He had already distinguished himself by an able reply to "The considerations which induced Peter Manby, Dean of Derry, to conform to the Popish religion," and he was now actively employed in keeping up a correspondence with the friends of the Prince of Orange in England. Encouraged by the advices which he received in return, he earnestly persuaded the Protestants to embrace the deliverance offered to them by Divine Providence, to acknowledge the Prince of Orange for their king, and to submit to his authority. This had a wonderful influence on the spirits of the people, and disposed them to a zealous defence of their religion and civil rights.

The Protestants, in all difficult cases, had recourse to him for advice how to conduct themselves in such a dangerous predicament as that in which they stood at that crisis; and such a counsellor was then of incalculable benefit to them. Nor was he of less service to the Protestant cause on the other side of St. George's Channel, where a most powerful body of the Clergy and Laity of the Established Church adhered to James, and had been most grossly deceived by reports indefatigably circulated amongst them, of the great mildness of that tyranni-

cal Prince's government towards the Protestants of Ireland. To counteract the dangerous effects of such representations, every where received as truth, Mr. King took the utmost care, by private letters, to undeceive the people of England, undertaking an arduous duty, at all times necessary for the preservation of the English and Protestant interest in this place, and never more so than at the period of our history now under review, if we may except the present times, when, for upwards of forty years, the system of delusion with respect to Ireland, is unhappily practised with so much success, not only in one of the houses of the legislature, but in the inmost recesses of the cabinet of the empire.

To such a pitch was this delusion carried in Scotland, even after the arrival of William and the flight of James, in 1688, that Sir Daniel M'Donald, who came out of the Isles of Orkney to Dublin in the ensuing year, with several gentlemen of the Highlands, declared that their ministers in the pulpits had assured them that the Protestants of Ireland lived under King James in the greatest freedom, quiet, and security, both as to their properties and religion; and that if the Protestants of Scotland knew the truth of the matter, as they then found it here, they would never fight a single stroke for him. Similar mistakes prevailed in England at the same time, and agents were despatched through the coffee-houses, taverns, and other public places, to disseminate an opinion that the Protestants of Ireland lived easy and happy under Tyrconnel's government, while they were bleeding under the lash of his intolerable tyranny.

In this state of public feeling in the metropolis, a letter was dropt at Cumber, in the County of Down, where the Earl of Mount-Alexander resided, dated December 3, 1688, informing that nobleman, that on Sunday the 9th of that month, the Irish throughout the whole island, in pursuance of an oath which they had taken, were to rise and massacre the Protestants,

men, women, and children, and warning him to take particular care of himself, as a captain's commission would be the reward of the man who would murder him. There was no name subscribed to this letter, and the bad writing and low style of it, seemed to argue that it was penned by one of the lowest of the natives. Letters to the same purpose were written to a Mr. Brown, of Lisburn, Mr. Maitland, of Hillsborough, and others. Whether the letter to Lord Mount-Alexander was a false alarm or not, the most decided friends of the Revolution did not dispute, but all the Protestants who saw it, agreed, that in such a posture of their affairs, it was not a document which they ought to suppress, and accordingly copies of it were, on the next day, forwarded to Dublin by Sir W. Franklin, Arthur Upton, Esq., W. Coningham, Esq., and Mr. Thomas Knox, not only to alarm the Protestants in that city, but to give them the opportunity of communicating the contents of it to all parts of Ireland.

Early on the day after the arrival of this intelligence in Dublin, upwards of three thousand terrified Protestants, deserting their houses and their property, embarked on board ships which happened to be in the bay at that time, in which they were so crowded, that many of them were in danger of being suffocated.

Tyrconnel in vain attempted to repress the tide of popular terror. On Sunday morning he sent two Protestant lords to persuade the people not to go away, and he ordered a yacht to bring back some of those who had gone: but all his endeavours were ineffectual, they had lost all confidence in him; and his oaths, of which he was remarkably profuse upon all occasions, were now unable to obtain any credit from them. On the same day the report arrived in many of the principal towns in Ireland, while the Protestants were at church, and it struck them with such terror, that many of them broke out through the windows, others pushed towards the doors, regardless of

the danger of being crushed to death by a crowd struggling to escape by the same passage. Hats, caps, and shoes, were left behind, clothes torn to pieces, and women and children severely injured, by being crushed against the walls, or trampled under foot in the confusion.

For several Sundays the Protestants carried weapons of all sorts with them into their churches, and even their officiating ministers—were armed with sword and pistols in their pulpits. Two contending Churches were at this time literally militant in Ireland, and a primitive Christian, without reference to the justice of the cause on either side, would have wept at and deprecated the weapons of the warfare.

Copies of the letter to Lord Mount-Alexander arrived in Enniskillen on Friday the 7th, and obtained immediate credit in that town, in which many persons then lived who had survived and recollected the massacre of 1641. Letters were immediately despatched from the town to all the gentlemen in the surrounding country, requesting their assistance to repel two companies of foot belonging to Sir Thomas Newcomen's regiment, for which Tyrconnel had ordered them to provide quarters, but whom they were desirous to keep out, although there were but eighty inhabitants in the town, and they were not possessed of ten pounds of gunpowder, or more than twenty muskets in complete repair. The messengers returned to them, as might be expected, with but little encouragement, but the Enniskilleners, steady to their purpose, resolved not to receive the Popish garrison, and commenced the most active preparations for defence.

A copy of this letter was sent by William Coningham, Esq. from Belfast, enclosed in one of his own, to George Canning, Esq. of Garvagh, in the county of Londonderry. Mr. Canning, whose father had been cruelly murdered at his own house in that place on the commencement of the massacre of 1641, sent this letter with the utmost expedition to Alderman

Tomkins, in Derry, according to the strict injunction of Mr. Coningham. A gentleman meeting with this messenger on the way, was informed of the contents of his despatches, and sent the information to George Phillips, of Newtown Limavady, on the sixth of December, on which day a part of the Earl of Antrim's new regiment arrived there, on its way to Londonderry. Mr. Phillips, then in his ninetieth year, with a promptness to be expected in a veteran highly distinguished through the whole of the preceding civil wars, sent a messenger at midnight to the city with an account of what had been communicated to him, and to acquaint his friends there what description of guests they were likely to have on the ensuing day. He wrote to them, that instead of six or eight companies of Irish Papists and Scottish Highlanders of the same religion, as had been reported, this regiment consisted of about double the number, attended by a multitude of women and boys.

At an early hour next morning Mr. Phillips sent another messenger to Londonderry, expressing his increased apprehension of the consequences of suffering this regiment to enter the city, and advising the citizens to look to their safety. The messenger who was charged with the delivery of the letter, told them that he had left some of the foremost companies within two miles of the town, the rest being on their way. The Alderman, with the rest of the leading men of the city, were in great confusion on receiving these accounts. Alderman Tomkins consulted Mr. Gordon, a non-conforming minister, who not only advised the closing of the gates, but wrote immediately to several neighbouring parishes to warn the Protestants of their danger, and to solicit their assistance. Alderman Norman, and others, in the mean time, were consulting the Bishop, and found that venerable prelate cautious from years, and by the principles of his sacred profession, an enemy to resistance. Dr. Hopkins had been educated at Oxford, in

Calvinistic and Independent principles, but upon the restoration of Charles II. he conformed to the Church of England, and became an eminent preacher. He had at this time been nearly twenty years in Ireland, where he had successively occupied the stations of Treasurer of the See of Waterford, Dean and Bishop of Raphoe, from which latter he had been translated to the Bishopric of Derry, where he was greatly esteemed for his humility, modesty, hospitality, and charity.

But the strongest incitement to the Protestants to preserve this their last refuge from persecution, arose from the public and unguarded declarations of the Romish priests in the masshouses, that they had some great design in hand, whereof their congregations should have particular notice; that it was their indispensable duty, at the peril of their salvation, to do whatever their priests should direct and enjoin them, requiring them in the mean time "TO BUY AND FURNISH THEMSELVES WITH THE BEST WEAPONS THEY COULD." The stories of this kind which were told by some of the Papists themselves, gained the more credit, from its being observed through the whole kingdom, that not only the men, but the women and boys of the Romish persuasion, began to supply themselves with a weapon called a SKEIN, or knife, and a kind of halfpike; it being the chief employment of the smiths in the country to make this kind of arms for them. These women, who trained up their unhappy sons in the habit of robbery and bloodshed, entailed a severe curse upon the country, in the RAPPAREES, as they were called, "a sort of Irish vultures," says Mackenzie, "who followed the armies to finish the work of death, and prey upon the spoils of the field of battle." The frequent conferences of the Popish Clergy in the county of Donegal, had excited great suspicion, particularly an account of some violent debates said to have arisen between the priests and friars about the execution of some great design. A sermon preached to the Popish garrison of Derry, in the open

market-house, in October 1688, contributed much to alarm the Protestants, some of whom were among the hearers. The subject of this sermon was Saul's treatment of the Amalekites, in which the preacher strongly insisted on the danger of sparing one of those whom heaven had devoted to destruction. "God," he said, "deserted Saul, and took the kingdom from him, and ruined both him and his family, for that very reason, as he certainly would punish all who should be guilty of a similar disobedience; adding, that the people were always, as at that time, from Samuel, obliged to take their directions from their clergy as from God, and punctually observe the same at the peril of their souls." The application of all this, at such a juncture, was not to be mistaken even by persons of less sagacity than the people of Londonderry proved to be. Some of these ecclesiastics were observed to buy fire-arms, and to get chain-bridles made, a few of which were accidentally found and seized by George Phillips, Esq. The Popish priests* now casting away all regard for a clerical appearance,

* The diocese of Derry, however, furnished but few of these military ecclesiastics, of whom the most violent were Brian O'Hagarty, priest of the parishes of Fahan and Desertigney, and Francis Bradley of Swatteragh, the former of whom behaved so maliciously towards the Protestants of Fahan in 1689, that he was not suffered to return to it after the Revolution; and the latter acted openly as the captain of a Creaght, or band of Tories, during the whole time of the troubles. The other priests of the Church of Rome in this diocese, were generally kind to their Protestant neighbours in distress, particularly Denis O'Hagarty of Templemore, Dermott M'Tiely of Culdaff, Denis M'Colgan of Donagh, Roger O'Hagarty of Moville, Jeffrey O'Shields of Clonmany, Dennis M'Closkie of Banagher, Roger M'Closky of Dungiven, Isage O'Lynchachan of Lifford and Strabane, Conougher O'Mungan of Urney, and Termon O'Mungan, Cornelius O'Cassidy of Macosquin, and Patrick O'Scullen of Ballyscullen.

This note is given on the authority of what appears to have been a copy of a Report to Parliament, of the character of the Romish Clergy in the Diocese of Derry about the commencement of the last

assumed swords and periwigs, turned military commanders, and exercised the new raised soldiers. All the scum and rascality of the country were made officers; in every part of the island Papists enlisted themselves, and their priests suffered no man to come to mass that did not arm himself with a skein and an half-pike.

By Col. Phillips' first letter from Newtown Limavady, it appeared—that the Earl of Antrim's regiment consisted of a much greater number of men than was at first supposed; the companies were eight in number, instead of six, which had been announced, and were attended by a great number of wo-

century. It contains the following reports of the character of the rest of those Priests, viz:

CULDAFF.

Owen M'Colgan, a friar, a man of ill character and dissolute life, and very offensive to the neighbourhood for marrying people clandestinely, as well Protestants as Papists.

CUMBER.

Shane O'Cahan, reputed a most malicious, ill inclined, dangerous man.

ARDSTRA.

James O'Kelly, reckoned a very weak man.

BADONY.

Shane M'Anally, reckoned a close, subtle man, educated in Flanders.

BALLYNASCREEN.

Bryan O'Cassidy, aged 50 years, cunning and contentious.

Neill M. Conway, aged 30, went beyond sea before 1688, came back again about two years ago, is reputed guardian of the Franciscan Friary they design to have in Ballynascreen, a close subtle fellow and a regular priest.

 $Philip\ M^cHugh$, a confident dissembler; those friers reside mostly in Munterlony.

MAGHERA.

Murtagh O'Brennan, a peaceable man, minding only his meat and his mass.

men and boys. In a second letter he expressed his sense of the danger of admitting such a crew into the city, and advised them to take care of their own safety. The messenger who brought this letter said that he had left some of the foremost companies within two miles of the town, the rest being on their way. The Protestant inhabitants were terrified; several of them assembled in groups through the streets. The Apprentice Boys, with a mob of the lower orders along with them, muttered something about shutting the gates; they got some private encouragement to do so at first, but that was soon retracted, and the minds of all the men of weight fluctuated in a miserable doubt of the most prudent course to take. In the mean time two companies of the unwelcome regiment arrived at the waterside, commanded by a Lieutenant and an Ensign. The officers, leaving their men there, were ferried over, and waited on the Deputy Mayor and the Sheriffs, with their authority for demanding admission. John Buchannan, the Deputy, a man secretly devoted to the interest of James, had no objection to give the regiment the most honourable reception, but Horace Kennedy, one of the Sheriffs, had given the 'Prentice Boys a secret hint during the preceding night, and they were at hand, prepared to shut the gates against the regiment. While they were in some consultation with each other on the subject, the Irish soldiers, impatient at the delay of their officers, or having, it was thought, some infimation of the nature of the reception intended for them, and a strong desire to frustrate it, crossed the river, and appeared on the landing place, about three hundred yards from the ferry-gate. The young men of the city observing this, about eight or nine of them, whose names deserve to be preserved in letters of gold, viz: HENRY CAMPSIE, WILLIAM CROOKSHANKS, ROBERT SHER-RARD, DANIEL SHERRARD, ALEXANDER IRWIN, JAMES STEW-ART, ROBERT MORRISSON, ALEXANDER CONINGHAM, SAM-UEL HUNT, with JAMES SPIKE, JOHN CONINGHAM, WILLIAM

CAIRNS, SAMUEL HARVEY, and some others who soon joined them, ran to the main guard, seized the keys after a slight opposition, came to the ferry-gate, drew up the bridge and locked the gate, Lord Antrim's soldiers having advanced within sixty yards of it. They ran to secure the other three gates, and having left guards at each of them, assembled in the market-place.

This kindled an ardent spirit among the lower orders, and more youthful-part of the inhabitants to defend the city, but there was still some opposition to the measure; the Deputy Mayor, strongly attached to King James's interest, attended by the Sheriffs, came to the market-place attended by the two Popish officers, and others of the same persuasion, where by promises and threats, they endeavoured to prevail on the people to throw the gates open to the king's soldiers, and they had taken the precaution to secure the magazine, by placing a guard of their own over it. The youthful heroes perceiving the measure, sent a party to counteract it, and Campsie, who led them, was wounded by a sentinel named Linegar, a reputed Papist. The circumstance of Protestant blood already flowing from a wound inflicted by such hands, at such a crisis, and in such a place, had an instantaneous and irresistible It was in vain that the bishop added his remonstrances to those which had been already used, talked of allegiance to an abdicated king, and preached peace and submission. Mackenzie observes, "that the dull heads of the men of Londonderry could not comprehend how it could be a great crime to shut the gates against those whom they believed had been sent to cut their throats;" and Archbishop King observed afterwards, "that no man could blame the youthful heroes for their decision on this occasion. They were startled even at the external appearance of the pack of ruffians now approaching their city, attended by crowds of ferocious women and armed boys. Many of the captains and other officers of this

regiment were well known there, having been long confined in the gaol for thefts and robberies. They came, too, at the time when a general massacre of the Protestants was expected, and appeared to have been the persons appointed for the perpetration of it in that place, ready, it was believed, to commit such villanies on command, and not likely to wait for an order to do so. The Deputy Mayor's remonstrances were at last silenced by Alderman Gervais Squire, who called him a traitor to the liberties of Ireland and the crown of England; and the companies which had been indignantly waiting on the outside of the gates, were soon put to flight in a very ridiculous manner, for one James Morrison having warned them in vain to be gone, called out aloud, "bring about a great gun here," when they were instantly seized with a panic fright, and hurried across the river to their disappointed companions. In the afternoon of this day, the gallant David Cairnes of Knockmany, in the County of Tyrone, a gentleman of high talent and great respectability, bred to the profession of the law, came into Londonderry, and expressed his approbation of what had been done there on that morning. He commended the courage of the 'Prentice Boys, and assured them of his utmost assistance. He went round the walls, and to each of the gates, encouraging the guards and sentinels, and after returning to the main guard again to show his full concurrence with them, he went to the persons of respectability in the city, to persuade them of the necessity of their taking a similar course. In the evening of the same day several of them began to appear more openly than they had previously done in the matter, so that at night he came to the guard-house with Alderman Norman, Mr. Jemmet, the Collector, Mr. Thomas Moncrief, Mr. James Lennox, and several others, who there wrote many letters to the gentlemen of the country, to acquaint them with what had been done, to represent their common danger, and the necessity of their concurrence in the defence of the city.

Various answers were returned, as might have been expected, some approving of the measure adopted, and promising their assistance, others discouraging what they considered to be a disloyal and hopeless enterprise. In the mean time, it is scarcely necessary to add, good guards were kept within and without the city, on the night of this memorable day.

On the next day, Saturday, the eighth of December, at an early hour, being in want of ammunition, the guards broke open the magazine, and took from it one hundred and fifty muskets, with some quantity of match, one barrel of gunpowder, and a proportionable number of balls. The magazine contained only eight or nine barrels of powder, of which two or three were unfit for use, and there were only two more in the city. There were but few arms in order, which had been prepared for Lord Antrim's regiment; the rest, in number about one thousand, were much out of repair. The bishop, unable to stem the popular torrent, retired to his former residence, in the strong castle of Raphoe. A considerable number of the Protestants of the neighbourhood flocked into the city for safety, and a rumour of a design of the Papists who remained, and the brutal conduct of the regiment at the waterside, drew many more of the people of the town to take an active part in defence of it, and accelerated the departure of the greatest part of the Popish inhabitants, and an entire convent of Dominican Friars.

The appearance of an adequate posture of defence was, however, as yet but slight and discouraging. It appeared, on investigation, that those within the walls capable of bearing arms, did not amount to three hundred; the suburbs were not taken into account, but it was thought they could not furnish as many more. But the news which arrived from England this day served as a powerful incitement to exertion on the part of the Protestants. The morning's post brought an account of the Prince of Denmark and the Duke of Ormond join-

ing the Prince of Orange, with others of high rank and great influence in England. A discharge of two of the best guns on the walls, to announce the joyful intelligence, operated in striking terror into the Irishmen and Highlanders on the other side of the river, many of whom had never before heard the sound of artillery, and their terrified wives and children expected a shower of grape shot to succeed the thunder which assailed their ears. To complete their terror, one George Cooke, a butcher, drew up fifty or sixty boys on the city side of the river, which the terrified Irish mistook for the advanced guard of a regiment of Laganeers. This was the denomination of a regiment raised during the civil wars, in that district of the County of Donegal, near Lough Swilly, called the Lagan, and famous for its victories over the rebels. The consequence was, that the whole of the new raised regiment, armed only with skeins, clubs, and other such weapons as kerns and tories used, with the women and children at their heels, betook themselves to a precipitate flight. The officers left their boots behind them, many of them having been best used to run barefooted, and the soldiers disregarded the incumbrance of their coats, in their eagerness to escape from an enemy still separated from them by a broad and rapid river.

Their Colonel, the Earl of Antrim, then seventy-three years of age, a veteran in courts and camps, accompanied by Mr. Phillips, of Newtown Limavady, met the panic struck regiment about a mile from the spot from which they had taken their flight, and having heard a very alarming story from them, thought fit to stop there and send forward Mr. Phillips to bring him word from the city, whether he would be admitted there, and who commanded the garrison. It was with some difficulty that this venerable messenger was admitted, as coming from the enemy, although he had rendered an essential service to the city already, and had been Governor of it and the fort of Culmore during the civil wars. But it soon appear-

ing that he was inclined to join them in their defence, the guard which they had placed over him was removed, but upon his own request to David Cairns, then in command, he was publicly threatened with confinement if he did not concur with them.

Mr. Phillips then wrote to inform the Earl of Antrim that he had been detained in the city, and to discourage him from approaching towards it, and that nobleman returned to Coleraine to rally his scattered regiment.

In the mean time it was thought prudent that a letter should be written to Lord Mountjoy, in whom they had great confidence, informing him of what had been done, and requesting his interposition with Lord Tyrconnel on their behalf. A copy of this document is given at the end of Mackenzie's Narrative, and it breathes but little of the spirit which animated the defenders of the city. On the same day there was a meeting of the nobility and gentry of the north-east of Ulster, who had a short time before associated themselves for the defence of their liberties and lives. They called themselves the Antrim Association; Lord Massareen's name stands at the head of their spirited resolutions. They now sent an address to the Prince of Orange, and intrusted the delivery of it to James Hamilton, of Bangor, Esq., and a Mr. Osborne, each of whom afterwards raised a regiment in defence of the Protestant interest.

The dreaded Sunday passed over without any attempts on the part of the Romish population to carry the design imputed to them into execution. Whether it was ever formed or not remains a profound mystery; but there can be no manner of doubt that they were making active preparations for civil war, in which they were equalled, if not outstripped, by the alarmed Protestants of Ulster.

On Monday the tenth, Captain Forward and Mr. William Stewart brought two or three hundred horsemen into Londonderry, and Mr. John Cowan, of St. Johnstown, a company of foot, which they offered for the public service. David Cairnes was unanimously chosen to be an agent in London for the distressed Protestants, and together with letters credential to the Prince of Orange's Secretary, the principal magistrates and commanders in the city gave him a letter to the London Society, stating what had happened, and imploring their assistance, concluding in the following energetic manner:-- "We most humbly and heartily beseech you, as you are men of bowels and charity, to assist this gentleman, how best you can, to secure us from the common danger, and that we may peaceably live, obeying his Majesty and the laws, doing injury to no man, nor wishing it to any. Your interest here is now no argument worthy to engage you; the lives of thousands of innocent men, women, and children, are at stake. If you can and will not now afford your help to the utmost, we shall never be able to use a motive to induce you, or to prevail upon you. May the Lord send deliverance to us, and preserve you all in peace." The letter was signed first by George Phillips, who had re-assumed his old office as Governor of the city; Campsie, Norman, Tompkins, and others, also affixed their signatures to it. Cairnes was also supplied with a private key for the purpose of carrying on a secret correspondence.

On the same day the people of the town were formed into six companies, under the command of the following officers:—

1st-Captain Samuel Norman, Lieutenant William Crookshanks, and Ensign Alexander Irwin.

2d-Captain Alexander Lecky, Lieutenant James Lenox, and Ensign John Harvey.

3d—Captain Matthew Cocken, Lieutenant Henry Long, and Ensign Francis Hunt.

4th—Captain Warham Jemmet, Lieutenant Robert Morrison, and Ensign Daniel Sherrard.

5th-Captain John Tomkins, Lieutenant James Spaight, and Ensign Alexander Cunningham.

6th-Captain Thomas Moncrief, Lieutenant James Morrison, and Ensign William Macky.

On Tuesday the 11th Mr. Cairnes set out for London, and on the same day Governor Phillips went to Newtown Limavady, where he raised two or three hundred horse, with which he returned in a few days. William Hamilton, of Mayagh, brought in two or three hundred more, who tendered their services to the general cause.

In the mean time, the Irish in all places were assembled in great bodies, killing the cattle of the Protestants, and stealing one or two hundred at once in a night, so that many substantial gentlemen, who had been the owners of several hundreds of black cattle and sheep had not one left, and for forty miles together in the province of Munster, the Irish cabins were full of beef stolen from the Protestants, which they did not so much as strew salt upon, but hung it up in the smoke, so that the best of it looked and smelled like carrion. It was computed that in nine days the Irish stole eleven thousand head of cattle in that one province, and at length, to complete the miseries of those exposed to this cruel persecution, their houses were robbed and pillaged, so that many who had lived in great plenty and hospitality, now wanted the common necessaries of life, and had nothing left to preserve them from starving.

The province of Connaught was in a state equally deplorable, and about this time several of the Protestant gentlemen of the counties of Sligo and Roscommon, fled with their families into Enniskillen; among these were Thomas Lloyd and Daniel Hudson, Esqrs., the former of whom signalized himself as Colonel of one of the regiments embodied there.

On Thursday the 13th of December, news arrived in Enniskillen that the two companies of foot, whose presence they so much feared, were on their march towards them, and on Friday the 14th, that they had arrived in Clones, within eighteen miles of them. The townsmen then sent again to all their neighbours, beseeching them to come to their relief, and offering them free quarters for man and horse. Upon this, many came into the town, resolved to stand firm to the last extremity, in defence of their lives and the Protestant religion.

Upon Saturday the 15th of December, the men of Enniskillen wrote the following letter, directed to David Cairnes, Esq. or the other officers commanding in Londonderry:—

"Gentlemen:—The frequent intelligence we have from all parts of this kingdom, of a general massacre of the Protestants, and two companies of foot of Sir Thomas Newcomen's regiment, viz: Captain Nugent's and Captain Shurloe's, being upon their march to garrison here, and now within ten miles, hath put us upon the resolution of refusing them entrance; our design being only to preserve our own lives, and the lives of our neighbours, this being the most considerable pass between Connaught and Ulster; and hearing of your resolutions, we thought it convenient to impart this to you, as likewise to beg your assistance both in your advice and relief, especially in helping us with some powder, and in carrying on a correspondence with us hereafter, as we shall, with Goo's assistance, do with you, which is all at present, Gentlemen, from your faithful friends and fellow-christians.

"THE INHABITANTS OF ENNISHILLEN.

" From Enniskillen, December 15, 1688.

"We are not now in a condition to spare men for a guard, therefore must entreat your assistance in that.

"Allen Catheart,
William Browning,
Thomas Shore,
William Smith,

"Archibald Hamilton, Malcome Catheart, James Ewart, Robert Clarke."

On this day, being Saturday, the two companies came to Maguire's Bridge, on their way to Enniskillen, and within eight miles of it. On Sunday the 16th, at ten o'clock, word was brought into the town that they were upon their march, and arrived at Lisbellaw. Most of the inhabitants of the town were in church at that time, but soon came out, and got under arms, resolved to advance and meet the enemy. On being drawn out they were found to amount to about two hundred

infantry, and one hundred and fifty horse. Of these a few were sent before the rest to parley with the companies, and dissuade them from advancing, and they brought ale and some provisions to treat them in case of a compliance. Gustavus Hamilton, Esq., afterwards their Governor, joined them this day, with about one hundred horsemen, within a mile of the town, and at the same time a report reached them that the two companies advancing towards them had several horse-loads of spare arms with them, for the purpose of arming some of the multitudes of the Popish peasantry who flocked to them from all quarters.

The Enniskillen horse now advanced towards these companies and their tumultuous adherents, and a view of them was sufficient to drive the whole rabble in confusion and precipitate flight back to Maguire's Bridge. The officers of the two companies were at dinner in a gentleman's house, at some little distance from their men, when this happened, but they hastened to overtake them and outstrip them in their flight. On the next day, Monday 17th, the fugitives arrived in Cavan, where they staid in great fear of the Enniskillen men, till they received orders from Tyrconnel to march into other quarters.

On the 18th of December, Gustavus Hamilton, Esq., was unanimously chosen Governor of Enniskillen. He immediately gave orders to raise two companies of foot in and about the town, under the command of Captains Allen and Malcolm Cathcart, and in a few days he formed a good troop of horse for himself from his own estate and the neighbourhood of it, providing them with all the arms and necessaries he could procure for them. He then removed his family from their dwelling house into the castle of Enniskillen.

The month of January, 1689, was spent by the men of Enniskillen in the most active preparations for the defence of their town. They raised several additional troops of horse and companies of foot, in which they were much encouraged

by hearing of the unfortunate James having disbanded his army, deserted his kingdom, and fled into France. The officers used the utmost endeavours to get all the fire-arms which they could procure into a thorough state of repair; they caused a great number of pikes to be made, and beat out many old scythes, and fixed them on poles, by which means, in a very short time, the few foot then raised were in a tolerable posture of defence. When about twelve companies and some few troops were thus raised and armed, they were formed into a regiment, of which the Governor was appointed Colonel, and Thomas Lloyd, Esq., Lieutenant Colonel.

At this time the Prince of Orange, in compliance with the request of both Houses of Parliament in England, and of the Protestants of Ireland, summoned the Earl of Tyrconnel, by a letter, to submit to the existing Administration in England. The delivery of the letter was entrusted to Colonel Hamilton, who promised to second it with his persuasions; but it was afterwards known that he acted an underhand part, and used his utmost endeavours to prevent the Viceroy from complying with it.

The Irish Lords, at the same time, pressed Tyrconnel to surrender the Government, and he had already packed up most of his valuable effects, and put some of his treasure on board a ship in which it was supposed he intended to leave the kingdom. It was, however, suspected that he meant, by these indications, only to gain time and perfect the new levies which he was already engaged in making; and these suspicions were confirmed by his privately issuing five hundred military commissions in one day. On the 4th of this month the gentlemen of the county of Sligo associated themselves, choosing Robert Lord Kingston and Captain Childley Coote the chief commanders. They then formed their force into troops and companies, and stationed them on the frontiers of

their county to hold correspondence with Londonderry and adjacent places.

The issuing of so many commissions by Tyrconnel, for the purpose of raising an Irish army, continued to alarm the Protestants in all parts of Ulster, who were confirmed in their resolution of putting themselves in the best possible state for defending themselves. They held several consultations with each other, and some great men advised and encouraged them to take care of themselves in this manner. One of these, whose name he does not mention, left some instructions for the Rev. George Walker, Rector of Donaghmore and Erigle, in the County of Tyrone, recommending the necessity of securing the town of Dungannon by a Protestant garrison, and of securing a sufficient store of provisions in it for an emergency. Mr. Walker, although at an advanced period of life, having been twenty-six years Rector of these Parishes, thought it not only excusable, but necessary, to interest himself on this occasion, and he raised a regiment for the defence of that town. Gordon, the son of the rebel chief, Sir Phelim O'Neil, sent his Priest to inquire why Mr. Walker took this course; and the ecclesiastic returned with an answer, that so many Irish, as the Ulster Protestants denominated Papists, had armed themselves in the country, and that he and his people thought fit to put themselves in a posture of defence. The new raised regiment, complaining of want of gunpowder, were deceived by a stratagem, which induced them to believe that a sufficiency of it had been provided for them, and so were induced to take charge of the post assigned to them.

In order to regain possession of Londonderry, Lord Tyrconnel now ordered Lord Mountjoy and Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, with six companies of their regiment, to march from Dublin and take possession of it. A notice of this order was privately sent to the men of Derry by some of their friends in the metropolis, who added a strong caution against the admission.

sion of the regiment into the city. When Lord Mountjoy came to Omagh, he sent Captain M'Causland with a message to Derry, desiring that two or three of the citizens should meet him at Raphoe; upon which Captain Norman and Mr. John Mogredge were sent to hear his proposals, who, on their return, gave an assurance of the authenticity of the powers vested in Lord Mountjoy, and strongly advised a capitulation, in return for a free and general pardon for all that had passed. Lord Mountjoy having objected to those who had been sent to him for not having had power to treat with him, charging them, on their return, to inform the citizens that he desired they would send commissioners to meet him at Mongevlin Castle, near St. Johnstown. Accordingly Governor Phillips, with Captain Alexander Tomkins, and Lieutenant Jas. Lenox, were empowered by the city to conclude a treaty with him. The terms they agreed to were, their getting a Protestant garrison, with liberty to keep their watches and arms as formerly, and also a free pardon under the great seal. These terms were, however, rejected, and Lord Mountjoy dismissed them, saying, that he would go to the gates of the city the next morning, and demand entrance. On the return of the commissioners the stores were examined, and found to contain only six barrels of gunpowder, a few arms out of repair, most of the guns being unmounted for want of carriages. On the arrival of Lord Mountjoy, he was delayed for some time outside the gate, while a strong altercation took place on the propriety of admitting him; but the personal esteem in which he was so generally held there, prevailed, and he was at length suffered to enter. His earnest endeavours to effect an accommodation were not disregarded by the town's people, and an agreement was made with them on their own terms, time enough to prevent any more forces being sent against them for the present. The commissioners on the part of the city were Governor Phillips, Horace Kennedy, Esq., Captain Alex.

Lecky, Captain Warham Jemmett, Captain John Forward, Captain George Canning, Lieutenant Henry Long, Lieutenant James Lenox, William Cunningham, and James Stewart, Esqrs.

On the signing of the articles, Lundy was, for the better satisfaction of the citizens, sent to Strabane to stop his six companies there, till one-half of them, being Papists, should be dismissed, and some officers of the city were sent to see this done, and Protestants enlisted in their stead. There were, however, but two of these companies received into Derry under the command of Colonel Lundy and Captain Stewart, all of them Protestants. The other four companies, one-half of which consisted of Papists, were ordered to quarter at Strabane, Newtown-Stewart, and Raphoe, till thoroughly reformed. On these satisfactory measures being adopted, the citizens were fully satisfied that their interest might be safely entrusted to Lord Mountjoy, and Phillips resigned the government of it into his hands.

The new and noble governor immediately ordered the carriages of the guns to be placed, the fire-arms to be repaired, and every other necessary measure for the safety of the place to be adopted. Money was levied for this purpose by subscription, and a committee chosen for the expenditure of it. In a short time afterwards, Lord Massareene contributed a considerable sum of money towards the defence of the city, and when the enemy afterwards were approaching the city, the garrison seized sixty tons of salmon, this nobleman's property, which had been deposited in a store-house near them, and carried it all away, except forty barrels which fell into the hands of the besiegers. The money thus raised was sent into Scotland by Mr. James Hamilton, a merchant, to buy gunpowder and arms. He was able to provide only forty-two barrels of gunpowder, which, except ten of them left in the county of Down, arrived safe, and were secured in the magazine. They also seized a small vessel which had been sent from Dublin with thirty barrels of gunpowder for the Earl of Antrim, and lay wind-bound in the harbour at Killogh, in the country of Down. Ten of these they left in good hands for the country's service there, and brought the remainder to Derry. All this was, however, too small a quantity for the emergency which they expected, and pressing letters were despatched to their agents at London, to apply there for a greater supply.

Tyrconnel now perceiving that he had fallen into a second error with respect to the citadel of civil and religious liberty in Ulster, by sending back Lord Mountjoy to command a garrison in it, devised a base stratagem, by the aid of Chief Baron Rice, and Neagle, the Attorney-General, to deprive the Protestants of the support they were likely to derive from the talent and valour of this nobleman. He was ordered to return to Dublin, which he did, in opposition to the entreaties of many of his friends, who assured him, as was really the case, that the proposal of sending him to France on an errand to the fugitive king, was all a piece of artifice contrived to get him out of the way. He did not proceed on his fatal embassy, however, until he had obtained from Tyrconnel these general concessions to the Protestants:-1st, That no more commissions should be given out, and no more men raised. 2d, That no more of the army should be sent to the North. 3d, That none should be questioned for what was past: and 4th, That no private house should be obliged to quarter soldiers. These terms were sent through all Ireland by letters, yet Lord Mountjoy was scarcely gone when the faithless viceroy denied he had granted them, and was angry at their having been published. In a very short time afterwards, news arrived that Lord Mountjoy was made a prisoner and sent to the Bastile, and this exasperated the Protestants to a degree which rapidly accelerated the ruin of the Popish interest in Ireland.

About this time the Rev. George Walker rode to London-

derry to consult Colonel Lundy on the defence of Dungannon, to which the latter, then in high repute for experience in war, and zeal for the Protestant interest, sent some files of disciplined men and two troops of dragoons, highly approving of what had been done for the safety of that place. It does not appear, even by Walker's own account, that he had been in Derry before this time. On the 30th of this month, the castle of Kenagh, in the County of Longford, belonging to Sir Thomas Newcomen, in which some Protestants had taken refuge, surrendered upon articles to Brigadier Nugent, who was soon afterwards killed by the Enniskilleners at Cavan. One of the articles was for the goods belonging to those in the house, and their friends, notwithstanding which, Nugent seized and took away several parcels of goods, and many of those who were in the castle were plundered and stripped naked. Another article was that the mansion house of Kenagh should not be burned or injured; notwithstanding which, it was burned to the ground by Colonel Cohannaught Maguire. These perfidious acts rendered the Protestants desperate, and all who could avail themselves of the resource, moved towards the province of Ulster, to make the last stand among their intrepid fellow sufferers there. About the same time thirty soldiers deserted from Dublin, and endeavoured to escape to Enniskillen. They were pursued by one Captain Nugent with a party of horse, and overtaken near Navan. They put themselves in a posture of defence, and were ready to fire at him and his party, but he persuaded them by fair promises to yield to him upon articles, without any other loss than that of their arms; but as soon as they gave them up, he stripped and pinioned them, and it was by much interest that they escaped death, being reserved in a gaol until a more convenient time for executing them should arrive.

On the 22d of this month, the Presbyterian ministers of Ireland, on behalf of themselves and their congregations, sent an

address to the Prince of Orange, assuring him of their readiness to serve his interest to the utmost of their power. It was intrusted to two of their members, viz:—Messrs. Patrick Adair and John Abernethy. This was their second address to that prince, to whom, on his arrival, they had been the first to offer their congratulations and expressions of zeal for the success of his glorious undertaking.

On the 28th of this month, the Enniskilleners sent Mr. Hugh Hamilton, and Mr. Allen Cathcart, two of the most active men amongst them, with an address to the Prince of Orange, and with full power and instructions to act for them at the court of England, to solicit for commissions, arms, ammunition, and money for the defence of the place. They were ordered to make their way by Scotland, for their greater safety, and letters were sent by them to the Earl of Mount Alexander and the associated nobility and gentry of the north-east of Ulster, imploring their advice and assistance. Tyrconnel now ordered Colonel Lundy to bring the remaining four companies into Londonderry, which had been left at Strabane, Newtown Siewart, and Raphoe, and had not been cleared of the Popish soldiers, of which one-half of them consisted. The Derry men, rather than lose so many serviceable muskets, were induced to receive them, when with their usual spirit and prudence they purged out the Papists, and supplied their place with Protestants, resolving to keep joint guards by detachments out of these six companies, and their own steady men. Upon this being reported to the viceroy, he issued a proclamation to all parts of Ulster, forbidding the Protestants to assemble together, by way of troops or companies, &c.; but the objects of his hostility were too sensible of the necessity of defending themselves, to pay any great deference to such a command. It was treated with particular contempt at Londonderry, where Lundy's management of affairs began to excite much displeasure. Contrary to the consent of the committee for the city,

he had chosen a Colonel and Major to his regiment: he soon after forbade the city companies to keep their guards, refused them ammunition, and when upon a remonstrance being made he restored the guards, he would allow but one city officer to each, and endeavoured to bring them under the command of his own officers.

Soon after the departure of Lord Mountjoy, a French engineer landed at Cork, and travelled with all expedition to Dublin, assuring Tyrconnel that King James would be suddenly with him, and that nothing was to be feared from England for several months. All men had recollected the error of Charles II. in not coming into Ireland during the civil wars, and therefore on the arrival of this news the aspect of affairs quickly altered. The hopes which had hitherto supported the spirits of the Protestants now utterly vanished. Despair occupied their place, and they associated themselves in all places, getting into castles and other places of strength for the preservation of their lives. Those who had already taken strong positions, and put themselves in a condition to make a defence, were now commanded by proclamation to return to their respective homes, on pain of being prosecuted for high treason. Matters at last came to such an extremity, that the Protestants were driven to a state of warfare, on the principle of self-preservation, and Lord Kingston, Sir Arthur Rawdon, and others, endeavoured to secure some strong holds in which they might hope to make a stand against their persecutors. But matters were so indiscreetly managed, and the vigilance of their enemies was so great, that all their efforts proved fruitless; their inconsiderable forces were soon defeated, and almost all the Protestants throughout the kingdom, except those of Londonderry and Enniskillen, were disarmed in a very short space of time. The gates were shut up in cities and towns, and none were suffered to pass through them without being strictly searched for arms. The houses were examined, and plate

and money seized and carried away as well as arms. The horses of the gentlemen and farmers were seized for the king's service, and brought into the garrison towns, where the Popish soldiers lived at free quarters in the houses of Protestants, by which these unfortunate people were reduced to such a state, that many of them were not left a morsel to eat or a bed to rest upon.

Matters, however, wore a better appearance in England at this time; for on the 28th of this month (January), the Parliament of England resolved, that "King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the original compact between the king and the people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the throne, which was thereby become vacant."

The next day the Commons voted, that it had been found by experience to be inconsistent with the Protestant kingdom of England to be governed by a Popish Prince; and they also presented an address to the Prince of Orange.

Tyrconnel, in the meanwhile, continued his violence against the Protestants of Ireland, and the acts of all his subordinate agents were characterized by a degree of treachery inseparable from cruelty. Among many other instances of a similar usage of Protestant gentlemen, the treatment of Captain Barton, of Carrickmacross, in the County of Monaghan, has been recorded by Archbishop King. This gentleman had a protection for his house and arms at that place, and had left his servants in it, while he remained in Dublin as an hostage to the government, which suspected him of a design to join the Protestants in arms at Londonderry or Enniskillen, then at open war against them; yet in his absence, a party of Colonel Mac Mahon's regiment went to the house about the first of February, in this year, and demanded the possession of it. The ser-

vants showed their protection, and told the officer commanding the soldiers, that they had orders from the Government to keep the house. The commander assured them that he would not disturb them, and that he only designed to lodge some of his men in it, to secure it more effectually for the king and the owner. Upon which promise the servants let him and his men into the house. As soon as they had got entrance, they began to plunder, destroy, and deface whatever they did not take away with them, and in a few hours, by ruining his improvements, and robbing him of stock, furniture, and other moveables, they injured him nearly to the value of ten thousand pounds. He complained to the Government of this treacherous and cruel treatment, but could obtain no redress; new injuries were added to those already inflicted upon him, and at last his house was burned to the ground.

The month of February was spent by the Enniskilleners in meetings and negotiations with Colonel Lundy and the leading men of the counties of Londonderry, Tyrone, Donegal, Cavan, and other parts of the country. The Protestants of the northeast counties had, as already noticed, entered into associations for securing the Protestant religion, their lives, liberties, and properties, and now orders were issued that the Protestants in the north-west of Ulster should form themselves into troops and companies, and afterwards into regiments; and all agreed that in case of extremity they should submit to the command of Colonel Lundy, whose reputation stood very high for conduct and experience in military affairs, but whose treachery and cowardice they at that time had not so much as suspected. The gentlemen of the county of Fermanagh held a meeting, at which they resolved to raise two regiments of foot, and a regiment of horse; but the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, in his account of the actions of the Enniskillen men, says, that by reason of the backwardness to the service, manifested by some of these gentlemen, those regiments were not raised, so that the

great stress of the country, as he terms it, was left upon the Governor of Enniskillen, and those gentlemen who adhered to him.

On the first of this month the English House of Lords rejected a motion to place the Prince and Princess of Orange on the throne. The majority on this occasion was only five in number, and the rejection of this measure, which was so soon afterwards adopted, arose from an artful party among the Lords, which aimed at rendering the settlement of the Government impracticable in any other way than recalling king James and his infant son; measures odious to the great body of the Protestants of the nation, who had so severely smarted under the tyranny of the father, and who very generally supposed the son to be a supposititious child, thrust into the succession to the throne by a jesuitical device. A petition was drawn up in London, to be presented to the Lords, desiring, in plain terms, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be settled on the throne, and signatures of a multitude of persons of all ranks and descriptions appeared to it, so that it might fairly be considered as an expression of the general sense of the people. But the Prince, with his characteristic nobleness of soul, scorning this mode of proceeding, sent orders to the Lord Mayor to put a stop to this tumultuous proceeding, which was accordingly done. After several debates, and the princess's refusal to be queen alone, it was at last agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be king and queen of England. On the twelfth of this month the Princess arrived in England, well pleased at what had been done, and the strict union of sentiment and affection between her and her illustrious husband, entirely frustrated the designs of a powerful party, which had hoped, by causing a misunderstanding between them, to find occasion to serve their old master. On the next day, William and Mary being seated on two large chairs under a canopy of state

in the banqueting-house, both Houses of Convocation waited upon them in a full body, and after a declaration of the rights of British subjects was read to them, the Speaker of the House of Lords made a solemn tender of the crown to their Highnesses, in the name of both houses of Parliament. answer of the Prince was such as became him, brief and heroic; he acknowledged the offer to be the greatest proof of the trust reposed in his royal consort and himself. cepted it thankfully, observing, that as he had no other intention in coming to England than to preserve the religion, laws, and liberties of the realm, they might be assured that he would endeavour to support them, and be willing to concur in every measure for the advancement of the welfare and glory of the nation. A burst of acclamation resounded through the House on the conclusion of this speech; it flew with electric rapidity over the city, was re-echoed with joy through the three kingdoms, and on the same day they were proclaimed king and queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

In the mean time the Romish party in Ireland was encouraged in their intolerable aggressions on the Protestants, by daily reports of the landing of King James at Cork. Almost every post brought a false alarm of the tyrant's arrival—bonfires were made, and guns discharged in several garrison towns, in honour of an event looked upon as the finishing stroke to all opposition to the dominion of Popery in the island.

Early as it was in the year, General Hamilton was sent with an army into Ulster, and the judges entered on that circuit a full month before the usual time of the spring assizes. The pretext for this extraordinary measure; was, to punish the thieves and robbers who had plundered the Protestants, but the design was to condemn these poor men of the reformed religion, who had taken up arms to defend their houses against these villains, and also to extort from them the means of sup-

porting that army which had been raised for their destruction, there being at that time, from a ruinous management of the public affairs, little or no money left in the exchequer. These judges, immediately after opening their commission, read a letter from the Government to the principal men in each of the counties, and to the Protestant Minister and Popish Priest of every parish, requiring them to summon the inhabitants of each parish together, and cause them to subscribe to the utmost of their ability for the subsistence of the king's forces, assuring them, that his Majesty would soon be at the head of his loyal subjects, in Ireland, with a considerable assistance from the King of France, and that they who had no money should send in meal, malt, beef, cheese, butter, herrings, leather, brogues, stockings, wool, cloth, linen, or any other articles of provision or clothing which the country afforded. By this crafty measure, the Protestants were exposed to inevitable ruin, and the little they had left was now drawn from them for the maintenance of their persecutors. General Richard Hamilton, who commanded the army sent to the north at this time, and who afterwards became so distinguished in the war which ensued, was the fifth son of the gallant Sir George Hamilton, of Donalonge, in the county of Tyrone, and Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary—an officer whose services in the cause of Charles I. as Colonel of a regiment of foot, had been eminently conspicuous, and were highly rewarded.

The war was now commenced against the Protestants, and prosecuted in all directions with vigour proportioned to the fears of Tyrconnel, and the apprehension of the Popish Clergy, that unless their crusade against the reformed faith were brought to a termination in a short time, the opportunity of regaining their lost ascendancy would be gone for ever. At the same time that Hamilton marched for the north, Lord Galmoy, afterwards so notorious for his perfidy and cruelty, was sent with a strong body of forces to guard the passes be-

tween Connaught and Ulster, for the purpose of preventing the Protestants on the western side of the Shannon from joining their more numerous friends in the northern counties. He was the son and successor of Edward, second Viscount Galmoy. On the 6th of August, 1677, he was created Chancellor of the University of Oxford; he first commanded a troop of horse in the Royal Guards, and was afterwards Colonel of foot in James's new raised Irish army; he was also Lord Lieutenant of the county of Kilkenny. One of his dragoons, on their march to the north, met with the wife of a clergyman, who had fled to Derry or Enniskillen, and according to the dreadful report recorded in Burton's History of Ireland, several of them, one after another, ravished her, and afterwards cut open her body, leaving it exposed in a most savage manner, along with the body of a dead man. About the same time, a Protestant gentleman, in the county of Tipperary, seeing some of Tyrconnel's dragoons coming towards his house late in the evening, shut and barred his doors, as if the family had retired to bed. Upon this, sixteen of them advanced to the hall door, and not being quickly admitted, they broke it open, calling the owner of the house a traitor for shutting it against the king's troops. They then pillaged the house of all the valuable articles in it, and, horrid to relate, they violated the gentleman's only daughter before his face. Thirteen of the ruffians abused her while she was expiring, and three of them after she was actually dead. Such, at this melancholy time in Ireland, was the dominion of that power which exalts itself against GoD.

The Protestants of the West County of Cork had for the three preceding years been severely persecuted by their Popish neighbours; they were robbed and plundered of their furniture and cattle in the open day-light, which terrified them so much, that leaving their homes and the little they had left in them, they now flocked into walled towns for the preservation of

their lives: the Irish, in this triumph, grew so insolent, that they went in great bodies through the country, with pipers playing before them, and gathered in the remains of the property of the unhappy objects of their fury. These robberies appeared, from the confession of Chief Justice Nugent, to be designed by the Government, and he boasted of the policy of such a proceeding. At the assizes of Cork, he publicly called such robberies necessary evils, and from the beginning he took no care to suppress them. On the twenty-eighth day of February, in this year, the Protestants of Bandon, hearing that the Earl of Clancarty was marching with six companies to reinforce the troop of horse and two companies of foot there, commanded by Captain Daniel O'Neil, disarmed the garrison, killed some soldiers, took possession of all their horses and arms, and would have done much more had they been assisted. They shut their gates, and generously refused to give up any of their leaders, but at last purchased their pardon for a thousand pounds, with the demolition of their walls, which were then razed to the ground, and have never since been built. In a letter of the first of March, preserved among Sir Richard Cox's manuscripts, Tyrconnel expresses his sorrow that this treaty had been made until the authors of this disturbance were punished.

The chief actor in disarming the Popish garrison at Bandon, on this occasion, was William Fortescue, of Newrath, in the county of Louth, a Captain in the Earl of Clancarty's regiment of foot. After James's abdication, he associated himself with the Earl of Inchiquin and other Protestants of the province of Munster, for self-preservation, and on this, their first success, they proclaimed King William and Queen Mary. This service exposed Captain Fortescue to the resentment of the Irish, by whom he was afterwards a very great sufferer; for the Earls of Inchiquin, Barrymore, and others, being deprived of their commissions, he narrowly escaped with con-

ditions for his life, in the surrender of Mallow, upon articles with Lieutenant-General Mac Carthy; and the Earl of Clancarty, in mere prejudice to his firm adherence to the Protestant interest, not only detained above an hundred and fifty pounds of his money, which he got into his hands, but soon afterwards, in breach of his articles, robbed him of two hundred pounds worth of his substance, and committed him to the gaol of Cork, among thieves and vagabonds, where he kept him in restraint above eleven months, with daily threats of death, refusing him all subsistence, bail, or exchange. This same Clancarty, on his march towards Derry with his regiment, commanded the companies disarmed at Bandon by Captain Fortescue, to revenge themselves, by plundering his house in the county of Louth, while he lay in gaol an hundred and thirty miles distant. They took away all his stock and goods to the amount of fifteen hundred pounds, burned and destroyed his dwelling house and improvements, stripped his family, and left them so miserably exposed, that some of his children died of the severe usage they received.

This gallant gentleman was son of Sir Thomas Fortescue, of Dromiskin, knight, who was cashiered by Tyrconnel from the government of Carricksergus, and committed a prisoner to the castle of Dublin, where he lay confined, with many other noblemen and military officers, until they were released in consequence of the victory at the Boyne. In the mean time, the Protestants of the north-east of Ulster proclaimed King William and Queen Mary in the principal towns of that district. They made an unsuccessful attempt to reduce Carricksergus, and after their refusal to obey a proclamation to lay down their arms, General Hamilton advanced against them with a considerable body of troops. They retired from Newry to Dromore, where they were overtaken and routed by the enemy, who, being greatly superior in numbers, slaughtered them most unmercifully in the pursuit. They stopped at

Hillsborough, but were soon obliged to fly from the town and castle in which they had posted themselves, and continued their precipitate retreat. About four thousand of them, kept together by the spirited exertions of Lord Mount Alexander and Sir Arthur Rawdon, reached Coleraine, and took their station there, in order to prevent the enemy from crossing the river Bann; and at the same time, the Protestants of the north-west of Ulster poured into Enniskillen and Londonderry as their last places of refuge.

About this time a large party of the Popish horse and foot suddenly entered Cork at midnight, and disarmed all the Protestants of that city. The next day they seized all their horses, and broke into the houses of several of the principal citizens, whom they robbed of great sums of money. Similar outrages were committed in the neighbouring towns. Lieutenant-General Mac Carthy having thus, with the spoil of the Protestants, increased his horse, and added to the number and equipments of his foot, marched with two field pieces towards Castlemartyr, the seat of Colonel Henry Boyle, who had with him there about an hundred and forty gentlemen and servants, to defend themselves against the attacks of the Papists. He was persuaded by his-friends to make no resistance, on the promise of the Lieutenant-General that neither their persons nor estates should be molested; but without any regard to this promise, the house was plundered, and Colonel Boyle, with many of the gentlemen he had with him, were carried prisoners to Cork.

On Wednesday, the twelfth of March, King James landed at Kinsale, and proceeded to Cork, where, on Sunday, the sixteenth of the same month, he heard mass in a new chapel erected there by the Franciscan Friars. As the Royal bigot passed through the streets on his way to the mass-house, he was supported by two of these friars, and attended by many others in their habits. He was received and entertained by

Donough, Earl of Clancarty, who was made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, and appointed to the command of a regiment in the Royal Guards, and also Clerk of the Crown and Peace throughout the Province of Munster. Tyrconnel met his Royal master in Cork, who immediately created him a Duke for his services, and the life of a Protestant magistrate, one Brown, a gentleman worth five hundred pounds a year in that county, was sacrificed on the occasion. Brown had been in arms against the Rapparees, and as the assizes were going on when the king arrived, he put himself on his trial, expecting, that in case of his condemnation, the royal visit would insure him a pardon. But in this he was sadly mistaken; far from being wise or humane enough to begin with such an act of mercy, if not justice, the deluded monarch gave an appalling proof of the cruelty of his disposition, by leaving the unfortunate gentleman to his fate, who was immediately hanged and quartered.

In the mean time, about three thousand of the Irish being garrisoned in the Fort of Charlemont, and attempting to plunder the Protestants in the neighbourhood of Armagh, Lord Blaney had frequent skirmishes with them, in which he constantly prevailed, to their great loss, until the thirteenth of March, when being informed that his castle of Monaghan had been taken by the Rapparees, and that all the Protestant forces in that quarter had retreated to Glasslough, where they were closely besieged by the enemy, and hearing, also, that Sir Arthur Rawdon had quitted Loughbrickland, and that the Irish army under General Hamilton had possessed themselves of that place, he called a council of war, in which it was resolved to march the next day to relieve their friends in Glasslough, and afterwards to proceed with them through Dungannon, to join those who had already retreated into the County of Antrim; but Lady Blaney and the Protestants shut up in Glasslough were relieved, in the mean time, by the valour of

Matthew Anketell, Esq., who had suddenly collected two troops of horse and three companies of foot. The Irish had entrenched themselves in a Danish fort situated on a commanding eminence, and from this position kept up a heavy fire on the Protestants who advanced against them. Anketell, however, intrepidly led his gallant band into the fort, from which he dislodged his terrified adversaries, and pursued them with slaughter; but he was slain himself in the hour of victory. Major John M'Kenna, who commanded six hundred of the Irish on this occasion, was taken prisoner, with his son, and eighty-nine of his men left dead on the field. It was with difficulty that the victors were prevailed upon not to sully their glory by murdering the captive chieftain, in revenge for the death of their beloved Anketell, whose remains were buried with great solemnity in the aisle of the church of Glasslough, where a plain tombstone in the floor records his untimely death in maintenance of the Protestant religion. After the battle, Lady Blaney and her party escaped to Londonderry with two troops of horse and three companies of foot.

The Protestant Association having, in the mean time, received fresh assurances of support from England, proclaimed King William and Queen Mary in the north-eastern towns of Ulster, and even ventured to make an attack upon the Castle of Carrickfergus, in which, however, they were unsuccessful; and after General Hamilton, as already mentioned, had driven them from Newry, Dromore, and Hillsborough, Lord Mount Alexander and Sir Arthur Rawdon kept four thousand men in arms at Coleraine, while those of the north-west district sought refuge either in Enniskillen or Londonderry.

On the fourteenth of this month, Count Lauzun and the Marquis de Lery landed at Kinsale with five thousand French troops, and King James sent back as many Irish under the command of Major-General Macarty. Lord Blaney kept possession of the city of Armagh, after his lady had escaped to

Derry, until he was nearly surrounded on all sides by strong parties of the enemy. He had been promised reinforcements by Governor Lundy from Derry, but being disappointed in them, he resolved to march on the Tyrone and Londonderry side of Lough Neagh, and the lower Bann, to Coleraine, with his little army, consisting of seven troops of horse and eight companies of foot. With a view to intercept him, twelve hundred men were rapidly hurried forward from the forts of Charlemont and Mountjoy, to seize the pass at Artrea bridge, and five hundred more were despatched to attack him in the rear. Lord Blaney, however, reached the bridge about a quarter of an hour before his opponents arrived there, where he halted, gave battle, and killed one hundred and fifty of them, driving many others into the river, where they were drowned. rest fell back in confusion, and he made good his masterly retreat to Coleraine. Some companies of his army, however, which had endeavoured to escape on the eastern side of the lake, were not so fortunate; they were overpowered and disarmed near the town of Antrim. On the sixteenth, the Enniskillen men, who five days before had proclaimed King William and Queen Mary with great solemnity, received an account that the garrison of Dungannon was deserted by order of Colonel Lundy, and that they, and all the inhabitants in the country about Dungannon, had fled towards Strabane and Londonderry. At the same time, their Governor received letters from Lundy, acquainting him, that it was concluded by their Committee, to order all the forces in the north-west of Ulster to draw towards Derry and the Lagan, for the purpose of making their stand on the Donegal side of the Fin water; the letter contained a very melancholy account of the condition of the garrison of Derry. The Enniskillen men, however, resolved not to forsake their town, and their heroic maintenance of that important pass between Connaught and Ulster, contributed in an eminent degree to the security of Derry and the country about it.

Two days after the arrival of the French forces in Kinsale, Sir Thomas Southwell and his brother, and a considerable number of other Protestants, were brought to trial in Galway, before Judge Martin. The charge against them was, that upon the surrender of Mallow, they had attempted to force their way to join Lord Kingston, then at Sligo, in arms against King James. It appeared that in their journey they had several skirmishes with the Irish, without any considerable loss, until James Power, the Sheriff of Galway, hearing of their approach towards that part of the country, raised the posse comitatus and attacked them in a narrow pass, to which they had been led by the emissaries he had sent as guides to them. They surrendered to him, on conditions that on giving up a stipulated proportion of their horses and arms, they should have passes, protections, and a convoy, if necessary. They were brought that night to Loughrea, for convenience of lodging, and on the next morning, instead of obtaining a convoy, which the Irish had agreed to give them, they were secured by strong guards, and informed that they could not be released until the pleasure of government should be known, to which it was alleged that a favourable statement of their case had been made. . Thomas immediately despatched a gentleman to Dublin, to petition the State for a performance of the articles of surrender; the suit was rejected without hesitation, and they were removed to the county court-house of Galway, where they remained in a deplorable condition until they were now brought to trial. Judge Martin, to save the trouble of a trial, prevailed on them to plead guilty, assuring them of the lenity of King James, then newly arrived in Ireland; they did so, and of course were convicted, and the next day he sentenced them all to death. They had no subsistence whatever but from the Protestants of the town, and after a fortnight's impri-

sonment, received a reprieve for a month: this was renewed for three months, and afterwards for six, on a promise from their friends to obtain an equal number of Popish prisoners from England, in exchange. In the course of their imprisonment, some of them were accused of attempting an escape, on which the Earl of Clanrickard sent them word by his Major, that as they had abused the king's mercy, and held correspondence with the northern rebels, he commanded them to prepare for that death which they had a second time deserved. They remonstrated by petition; he replied, on Friday, that though he would permit them to send no message to the king, he would give them time to repent. This answer caused them to give up all hopes of life, and they were assured that the ensuing Monday or Tuesday was appointed for their execution. On Monday morning they were alarmed with the noise of many drums, which they took for the signal of their execution, and whilst preparing for it in the common hall, they were offered their lives, if they renounced the Protestant religion. They however unanimously resolved to die in the faith for which they had already suffered so much, and in a short time afterwards, Colonel Mac Donnel, Governor of the town, sent them word to be of good courage, for that all that had passed was only a frolic of Lord Clanrickard's to frighten them into better manners and greater sobriety. After the ineffectual efforts of the Earl of Seaforth to obtain their pardon, they remained in custody until the second of January, in the ensuing year. It may be reckoned among the "ludibria rerum," that a noble descendant of this Sir Thomas Southwell should exchange the Protestant for the Popish religion, although more than twenty noble Irish families have renounced the errors of * the Church of Rome since the Revolution.

In this month, under the authority of an order from Tyrconnel, the officers of the Irish army seized the goods, houses, lands, and other substance, of all the Protestants who had fled out of Ireland, or were absentees from it, from minority, bad health, or other causes.

On the twenty-fourth of March, James made his public entry into Dublin in a triumphant manner, attended by a long train of British, French, and Irish, together with Count D'Avaux, the French ambassador. The magistrates of the city, and the Popish ecclesiastics, met him in their proper habits, with the host borne before them in solemn procession. The king bowed down before it, and made his adoration, amidst the acclamations of a surrounding multitude. He took an early opportunity of dismissing the only two Protestants of rank or distinction in his army, merely on account of their religion; he refused the gallant Sarsfield commissions for two of that officer's Protestant relatives, saying, that he would trust none of their religion; and on coming out from mass, immediately after his arrival in the metropolis, was heard to say, that "a Protestant stunk in his nostrils." He had now a second opportunity of manifesting the cruelty of his disposition, and the rooted hatred he entertained to Protestants. The wife of a man named Maxwell, who had been condemned to death for defending his house in the Queen's County against the Rapparees, presented a petition to him to pardon her husband; she had, by her piteous cries, prevailed upon the sheriff to grant her a reprieve for fifteen days, contrary to the order of the cruel Lord Galmoy, and she now appeared before the king in the most lamentable condition, having four or five small children along with her, all in tears. She delivered her petition on her knees, praying his Majesty to pardon, or even reprieve her husband for a short time. Many of the Irish nobility were present, and, struck with the woful appearance of the woman and her weeping children, seconded her request with great earnestness; but the reply of the brute was, "woman, your husband shall die." The sheriff received a rebuke for his humanity, and was commanded to hang the man immediately,

which was accordingly done. This example added a stimulus to the fury of the Romish soldiers against the Protestants, who were treated in the city, and under the immediate eye of the government, in the most barbarous manner. No Protestant could be out of his house after sunset, without danger of his life; several of them were assassinated, and among them a poor tapster of an ale-house on the Wood Quay, who was thrown into the Liffey and drowned, merely as a frolic, and no notice whatever taken of it. Richard Burton, who records this and other cruelties practised at that time in Dublin, observes, that considering the example of James, and the hatred of the Romish ecclesiastics to the Protestants, it appears to have been evidently providential that a general massacre was not attempted, as it had been in 1641.

In the midst of this cruel exercise of "brief authority," the tyrant's heart was desponding, nor could the utmost sycophancy of the addresses which were poured in upon him, dissipate his fears. He beheld with dismay, the undisciplined, half armed ruffians, whom Tyrconnel had collected and vainly endeavoured to form into an army. No stores of ammunition or provision, of any consequence, had been provided, and little more than eight hundred muskets could be found in any of the depositories. There was not one piece of battering cannon mounted through the whole island. His field artillery did not exceed twelve pieces, and he had only two small mortars in a condition for use. His first care after his arrival in Dublin and ordering the execution of the Carlow Protestant, was to set the people at work to make arms for his troops, but all the workmen he could procure were Protestants, and he complained, probably with reason, that they worked unwillingly and interposed as many difficulties and delays as they possibly There was also a scarcity of tools and implements of every kind, so that no more than fifty muskets could be manufactured in a week. He was also in a miserable state for

want of money, and found it difficult to provide pay for his army, although he had reduced it to the number of thirty thousand men, by the dismissal of a multitude of non-efficient men which Tyrconnel had indiscreetly added to it. The whole amount of the money given to him by the king of France was four hundred thousand crowns, and the country, already destroyed by the depredations of his soldiers, was no longer able to maintain them by plunder. James was in a wretched condition now; on the one hand he was assailed by the complaints of rude men and angry officers, the latter of a class little superior to the former; and on the other he was controlled in all his designs and actions by Count D'Avaux, who, in the capacity of an ambassador sent with him from France, was in reality a spy upon all his measures, which he resolved to turn to the advantage of his own ambitious master. This foreigner was associated with the Duke of Tyrconnel and Lord Melford, in a council, where every matter relating to Ireland was debated, and from them nominally, but from D'Avaux, in reality, every decision proceeded. With the view of injuring England in her staple manufacture, this council prohibited the exportation of Irish wool into it, allowing it at the same time to be exported into France. In return for their wool, the Irish were to receive back from France her manufactured cloth, her wines, and other luxuries, duty free. A blind hatred to England and the Protestant religion, prevented the Popish multitude from seeing the ruinous tendency of such a commercial arrangement, and their bigoted king, a pensioner of France, dared not to breathe a remonstrance against them.

On the twentieth of March all the Protestants of the county of Cavan, in wretched stormy weather, and in great disorder, ran towards Enniskillen and the villages in its neighbourhood, to the great surprise of the inhabitants of that part of the country. Three troops of horse, and as many companies of

foot, led the way, and then the whole Protestant population, men, women, and children followed, covered to their middle with clay or mud, crying bitterly, and with little or no provisions to support them. The Governor of Enniskillen ordered them free quarters for man and horse; a considerable proportion of them were tolerably well armed, and the gallant Enniskillen men were glad of their assistance. On inquiry, it was found that the treachery of Lundy, the false governor of Londonderry, had persuaded these people to abandon several strong holds, of which they had possession, and the immediate cause of their precipitate flight was the approach of Lord Galmoy, with the army which Tyrconnel had sent under his command towards the passes between the provinces of Connaught and Ulster. On the arrival of the army in the county of Cavan, they surprised the house of Mr. Dixy, Dean of Kilmore, and took the dean's son prisoner, along with Cornet Edward Charleton, and about eight or ten of the troopers of whom young Dixy was captain. On hearing this news, all the garrisons in the neighbourhood broke up, some setting fire to their houses, and the whole of the Protestants fled towards Enniskillen. Lord Galmoy then advanced to Belturbet, and on the day after his arrival at that place sent a party to besiege Crom Castle, then garrisoned by a considerable number of Protestants under the command of Colonel Creighton, ancestor of the present Earl of Erne.

It was situated on the lake, about sixteen miles from Ennis-killen, and had been the frontier garrison of that town on the Dublin side. The walls of the castle were strong, but it had no outwork, fortification, nor fosse, and it was commanded by hills within musket shot of it. Galmoy, either in derision, or to frighten the inexperienced garrison by a false appearance, sent two pieces of cannon made of tin, near a yard long in the chase, and about eight inches wide, strongly bound about by a small cord, and covered with a sort of buckram, in colour re-

sembling that of a piece of cannon. These he drew with eight horses each, making a great noise as if they were drawn with much difficulty. As soon as they came before Crom, he threatened to batter the castle with them, but he was fool enough to attempt a discharge from one of them, which bursted it and wounded the gunner, upon which the garrison made a sally, seized the other and carried it away upon a man's shoulder. A hot fire then commenced from the castle, which killed several of the besiegers, but did not dislodge them from their position. On the twenty-second of March, Lord Galmoy summoned the garrison of Enniskillen to surrender, and received for answer that King William and Queen Mary had been proclaimed there on the eleventh of that month, and that they would not only stand upon their own defence, but send what means they could to relieve Crom Castle.

On the arrival of the northern army at Coleraine, they sent immediate notice of the circumstance to Colonel Lundy at Derry, and in a day or two afterwards several of their officers went to advise with the false Governor what measures were most advisable to be taken. They met Lundy on their way, within a few miles of Newtown Limavady, and he turned back with them to Coleraine. He there declared that he had no ammunition to spare for the defence of that place, and advised the garrison to quit it as soon as it should be attacked. He added, that though the powder was scarce with him, he had provisions sufficient for a year's consumption, and signified his intention to bring all the stacks of corn and hay in the surrounding country into Derry; but this he never attempted to do.

Immediately after the conference, Lundy walked towards the bridge, but the mob there already suspected his fidelity, imagined he was about to desert, and drew up the bridge, while the guard presented their muskets and pikes at him. On the twentieth of this month a ravelin was ordered by the commander to be built before Bishops'-gate, at Londonderry, and the money was advanced for that purpose; several sums were also raised there for the use of the defenders of Coleraine, and resolutions were entered into that the garrisons of both places would stand together and succour each other.

On the twenty-first Captain James Hamilton arrived in Londonderry from England, with four hundred and eighty barrels of gunpowder, and arms for two thousand men, with a commission from the king for Colonel Lundy, and a considerable sum of money for the garrison. The king and queen were this day proclaimed in Londonderry with great solemnity, the Bishop having returned from Raphoe, and being present on the joyful occasion. Captain Hamilton, who was charged with this acceptable errand, was the nephew of Brigadier-General Richard Hamilton, then advancing with King James's army to besiege Londonderry. He was the son of Colonel Hamilton, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Culpepper, of Hollingbourne, in Kent. The estates of Donelong and Mongevelin, in the vicinity of Derry, belonging to this branch of the Hamilton family; and this gallant officer, who declining the title of Baronet, which had descended to him from his grandfather, was usually called Captain Hamilton, succeeded in the year 1700 to the title of Earl of Abercorn, and was the ancestor of the present noble Marquis.

Among the resolute Protestants who had sought refuge in Derry, were many daring and active spirits who had marched from Armagh with a very gallant officer, John Cochran, of Tyross. Besides these were Henry Cust, whose descendants afterwards settled in Magilligan, where the family is still to be found; with them went Cochran's valiant friend Robert Pooler, James Stiles, ancestor of an emancipating Baronet now resident in Donegal, and like the Marquis of Downshire, Earl of Charlemont, Messrs. Dawson, Brownlow, and other descendants of the persecuted Protestants of the seventeenth century,

are endeavouring to unmuzzle the wolves which had been rendered harmless by their wiser ancestors.

Along with these heroes went John and William Cross, of Dartan, maternal ancestors of the Author of these Memoirs, and whose descendants in the county of Armagh still happily cherish the principles to which under heaven they owe so much of what must be dear to all men in time or eternity.

In a part of the poem just mentioned, says Dr. Stuart, Cochran is spoken of as signalizing himself in a very gallant and honourable manner, in an engagement near Pennyburn Mill, and in a desperate sortie from the walls of Derry. His name is annexed to the address to King William and Queen Mary, which Walker presented to the victorious sovereigns immediately after the raising of the siege. He survived the war, and returned to his farm, where he died suddenly in one of his own fields. He was found dead, with his sword half drawn. His body was found by one of his old companions in arms, who is said to have exclaimed on the melancholy occasion, that "Death had taken him treacherously," adding, "that if John Cochran had but time to draw the remainder of the sword from its scabbard, he would have killed Death himself." The historian of Armagh quotes these antiquated lines in reply:-

"Who killed Kildare, who dared Kildare to kill,
Death killed Kildare, who dare kill whom he will."

The lines in the Armagh Poem which celebrate Cochran, are these:—

"In a few hours Cochran revenge demands, Who in the lines, with a battalion stands, Brave Wilson, and M'Cullagh gives his aid, And in their ranks a horrid slaughter made."

A sun-dial and some plate belonging to Captain Cochran,

and bearing his name, were dug up about thirty-five years ago in Ballyrath.

Robert Pooler, of Tyross, in almost every sortie made by the famous Murray, and other adventurous commanders, was always in the thickest of the battle, and yet escaped unhurt. When, however, the garrison had received the joyful information that the Irish army had commenced its retreat by night, this gallant soldier looked through an embrasure on the city battlements, in hope of witnessing its final departure. At that moment a random shot, discharged by some of the flying foe who had loitered in the rear, struck him on the head, and killed him on the spot. Some of the descendants of Cochran and Pooler, TRUE BLUES, all reside still in Armagh and Newry.

Captain Hamilton's instructions were to summon the Mayor of Londonderry, and all the officers, civil and military, to come on board his ship, and in their presence to administer to Colonel Lundy the oath of fidelity to King William and Queen Mary. Walker is silent as to this circumstance, and Mackenzie alleges that the oath was administered either very privately or not at all. When required next day by the committee and officers of the city to take this oath, Lundy refused to do so, pleading that he had taken it on the preceding day in Captain Hamilton's ship. Mr. Charles Hamilton, Mr. William Stewart, and some others, refused to swear the oath, but the Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and all the officers, were sworn. The precise sum of money brought by Captain Hamilton was not known; Mackenzie insinuates that it was not applied to the purposes for which it was intended, but as no complaint on this head is recorded by any other writer, little credit is due to this aspersion of the character of Captain Hamilton, who, in recompense of his distinguished services on this occasion, was called to the privy council by King William, and created Baron of Mountcastle and Viscount Strabane.

On Saturday, the twenty-third of March, many of the Protestants of the county of Cavan left Enniskillen and proceeded on their way to Londonderry, in obedience to the orders of Colonel Lundy. In the afternoon of the same day, the Enniskillen forces, horse and foot, were reviewed by the Governor on the common hill near the town, where they remained all day under arms, expecting the approach of Lord Galmoy and his army. Towards evening, however, scouts arrived with intelligence that Galmoy had advanced no farther on his march than to Lissnaskea, a village ten miles from Enniskillen, from which, on hearing of the intentions of the men of the latter place to meet him on his march towards them, he fell back with his men to the siege of Crom Castle. On the night of that day, Governor Hamilton sent about two hundred of the best armed men in Enniskillen towards Crom, partly by land and partly by water, in the hope to throw, if possible, a reinforcement into the besieged fortress. This they accomplished next day, after some feeble opposition from the enemy, who, being but wretched marksmen, did no other execution on them than killing one old boatman, while the defect of the artillery in the castle was supplied by long fowling-pieces with double rests, such as had been long in use round Lough Erne for the purpose of killing wild-fowl. Lord Galmoy was reconnoitering the castle from a hill nearly a mile distant from the scene of action, at this time, and as he stood with a glass of wine in his hand, toasting confusion to the rebels of Crom, an expert fowler from the battlements leveled his gun and fired at him with such precision, as to break the glass in his lordship's hand and kill the man who stood near him. In the mean time, two hundred of the Enniskilleners forced their way into the castle, from which the garrison instantly sallied out with them, and drove the besiegers from their trenches, killing thirty or forty of them, and plundering it of two suits of armour, the muskets of the dead, and several other articles of value. Galmoy retired to Belturbet, where he vented the fury of his soul in such a way at his disappointment, as to sink his character to the level of the lowest of his species that ever disgraced human nature, and warranted Oldmixon, in his Memoirs of Ireland, to brand him to posterity as an infamous wretch whom no titles could honour.

There was, at this time, a prisoner in Crom Castle, one Brian Mac Conagher Mac Guire, who had been a captain in King James's army. Lord Galmoy wished for his release, and on the day after the raising of the siege sent an express to Captain Creighton, proposing to exchange Captain Dixy for him, pledging his honour, that if Maguire was sent to him he would return Dixy for him without delay. An express was instantly despatched to Enniskillen for permission to make the exchange, which was obtained, and Mac Guire was sent to Lord Galmoy, with a letter from Colonel Creighton, desiring that Captain Dixy might be returned to him according to engagement. Instead of fulfilling his promise, Galmoy called a council of war, and put Captain Dixy and his lieutenant, Charleton, on trial for high treason, and they were condemned to death, promises of life and preferment being made to them if they would renounce the Protestant religion and join King James's army. They were both young men, but they firmly rejected the base offer, and wisely preferred death to dishonourable life. Mac Guire, who had been given in exchange for Dixy, warmly interposed in behalf of the prisoners, and was so disgusted at being unable to save their lives, though at the expense of his own liberty, which he generously offered to resign for them, that he resigned his commission, returned to Crom, and would serve King James no longer. Galmoy, in the mean time, deaf to every remonstrance made to him, caused the unfortunate young gentlemen to be hanged on Mr. Russel's sign-post, in Belturbet, and when they were dead, commanded their bodies to be taken into the kitchen of the

inn, had both their heads cut off and thrown out to the soldiers, who kicked them through the street as foot-balls. When the ruffians had sufficiently gratified themselves and their brutal commander by this barbarous sport, the heads were set up on the market-house of Belturbet. Galmoy marched in a few days afterwards, with his army, towards Derry, and passing through Tyrone, perpetrated another act of cruelty, of more than usual enormity. It is recorded in Burton's rare and curious History of the Kingdom of Ireland—"At Omagh he took two men, on pretence of their having taken up arms for their own defence; they were father and son. He first caused the son to hang his father, and carry his head on a pole through the streets, crying, 'this is the head of a traitor,' and then the young man himself was hanged."

On the twenty-third, Colonel Phillips was sent to England with an address to the king, and to solicit a supply of ammunition and other necessaries.

On the twenty-fourth, Colonel Gustavus Hamilton called a council of war at Coleraine, and represented to the officers that a want of ammunition had rendered it necessary for them to retire into Derry, which they were about to do, when some squadrons of the enemy's horse appearing before the town, they repaired, with their whole force, to the ramparts, from which a few shots repulsed the enemy. Lundy had been in Coleraine the preceding day, whither he had gone to give his advice and assistance, the tendency of which proved to be the facilitating of a general surrender to King James's army. On the twenty-fifth, while the men of Derry were in active preparation to resist the impending storm, a fire broke out at an early hour in the morning in an out-house near the magazine, which caused a suspicion of treachery; the whole garrison got under arms, manned the ramparts, and remained there several hours in expectation of the enemy. On the same day, intelligence arriving at Enniskillen of the arrival of Captain Hamilton in Derry with a great store of ammunition and arms, the Governor sent Nicholas Westley, Esq., and the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, Rector of Kilskerry, with a guard of twenty-four men, to that city, with letters to Hamilton and Lundy, for a supply of arms and ammunition. Captain Hamilton was desirous to comply with the request, but Lundy showed the cloven foot in the coldness with which he received the messengers, and in refusing to give a single musket complete. He however consented, with reluctance, that they should have sixty musket barrels without stock or lock, which had lain useless for a long time in the stores; and of five hundred barrels of gunpowder then in the magazine, he gave them but five. These were safely conveyed to Enniskillen, to which no further supply of arms or ammunition was sent during the arduous contest that ensued, but the brave defenders of that town supplied themselves by disarming their enemies, until Major-General Kirk sent them a relief.

Early in the month of March, the Rev. George Walker, rector of the parishes of Denoughmore and Erigal Keeroge, in the County of Tyrone, who had raised a regiment in and about Dungannon for the protection of that part of the country, rode into Derry, and settled a correspondence with Colonel Lundy, whom few or none suspected of treachery at that time, and whose character for experience in warfare and zeal for the Protestant religion stood very high. On the return of Mr. Hamilton of Kilskerry from Londonderry to Enniskillen, he met Mr. Walker at Lifford, where a token passed between them, which proved afterwards of great use during the siege.

During the first five or six weeks of the siege, Mr. Hamilton says, the Irish did not much scruple to let both men and women pass between Derry and Enniskillen, by which means a constant communication was kept up between these places, but afterwards, as might be expected, they would suffer none to

enter the blockaded city, by which means all intercourse with other places was completely cut off.

About eight o'clock in the morning of the twenty-seventh of March, General Hamilton appeared with his whole army before the ramparts of Coleraine. He advanced within fifty yards of the works under the shelter of some hedges and ditches, on the blind gate side and near the church. sheltered them within forty yards of the bastion. They raised two batteries, one of which played on the draw-bridge and the blind gate, a shot from which broke the chain of the bridge, which Captain Archibald M'Culloch, with great hazard of his life, fastened again, while the enemy were firing very rapidly at him. The other battery did but little damage, killing only one man, knocking down some chimneys, and making a few breaches in the church roof. Captain Hugh M'Gill killed their gunner with a musket shot. From the beginning of this month to the end of September, the weather proved extremely wet, both in England and Ireland, the rivers were frequently overflowing their banks, and fevers and dysentery very generally prevailed. At four o'clock in the afternoon of this day, a considerable quantity of snow fell suddenly about Coleraine, and in about an hour afterwards General Hamilton and his troops retired in great confusion from the formidable position which they had taken. The heaps of timber and earth which had been used in blocking up the gates on their approach, could not be removed with sufficient speed to enable the besieged to make a prompt pursuit, but many of them leaped from the walls, and seized several of the retreating enemy, with some fire-arms, commissions, clothes and tents. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion, there was one Courtney, who had deserted to the enemy in the course of that day. The loss on the side of the defenders of the town was three men killed; a small number to lose considering the continued fire to which they had been for some hours exposed: that of the Irish was uncertain, because they carried off their dead; and not deeming it prudent to spare time to bury them, they put them into a house, according to the report of the country people, and burned them to ashes; and it was on the succeeding day the foraging parties advanced from the city within two miles of the enemy's camp, and brought in some cattle and other necessaries. On the twenty-ninth, Sir Arthur Rawdon's regiment was ordered to march to Moneymore, Colonel Skeffington's to Bellaghy and Dawson's Bridge, and the passes on the Bann above Portglenone, and Colonel Canning's to Magherafelt. These arrangements were made in consequence of accounts being received of the advance of Colonel O'Neill towards Coleraine with two thousand men. O'Neill, who was son to the ferocious Sir Phelim, had resided in Derry for some years before this time, and the approach of a military man so well acquainted with the passes through the country as he was, added much to the alarm caused by the report of a reinforcement coming to Hamilton's army. The pass between the counties of Londonderry and Antrim, at Toome, was intrusted to Col. Houston, within four or five miles of which, at the New Ferry, Major Michelburn was ordered to take his station. Col. Edmonston, commonly called the Laird of Duntreth, was ordered to secure and defend the pass of Portglenone. Sir John M'Gill's regiment was sent to Kilrea, where care had been taken to sink most of the boats and cots on the Bann. Sir Tristram Beresford's regiment, with Colonel Francis Hamilton's, and several detachments to the number of three thousand men, were left to defend Coleraine. The Protestants at Fagivie, under the command of Captain Blair, beat back some of the Irish who had crossed the river there. On the approach of the Protestant troops to Moneymore, in which there was a strong castellated house and bawn, belonging to the Clotworthy family, the Irish quitted it, leaving behind them great quantities of provisions, which were very acceptable to Sir Arthur Rawdon.

He sent a supply of them to Colonel Edmonston, who had just written to him from Portglenone, that his men were almost starved with hunger there. Late on the night of Friday, the fifth of April, Sir Arthur went to Portglenone, and found all well there; Edmonston had entrenched his men so well, that they were out of the range of both great and small shot, and he had destroyed a considerable part of the bridge. The enemy was, however, very active, and there was a continual fire kept up on both sides. Twenty of the enemy were killed the next day, and that part of Portglenone in possession of the Irish, on the Antrim side of the river, was set on fire by red hot iron bullets, which drove them all out of it.

At two o'clock in the morning of the seventh, advices came to the Protestant army at Coleraine, that Lord Galmoy, Col. Gordon O'Neill, and Colonel Mac Mahon, had advanced to Dungannon with three thousand men, with the intention of cutting off the garrison at Moneymore. The same letter desired that Sir Arthur Rawdon should hasten back to Moneymoore, and he was a mile or two on his return with Major Baker, Captain Hugh M'Gill, and Captain Dunbar, when he heard that the Irish, having on the preceding night passed by the guards kept on the river side by Colonel Skeffington, were then advanced within a mile of Colonel Edmonston's trenches. Sir Arthur sent immediate notice of their approach to Colonel Edmonston, one company of whose regiment, quartered in some country houses near the river, fired at the passing enemy till their ammunition was spent. When the boats came within half a mile of the trenches, they landed the men, and plied back and forwards across the river till they had ferried over a considerable party. Two or three companies of their grenadiers advanced first through the bog of Glenone towards Colonel Edmonston's trenches, in which he had only one hundred and twenty men. With sixty of these he went out to line a ditch on the side of the bog towards the enemy, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw to guard the trenches. He there vigorously opposed the Irish, whose numbers every moment increasing, at last overpowered him, and obliged him to fall back. At this time, Sir Arthur Rawdon and Captain Dunbar came to the trenches, and were surprised by a volley of shot from the Irish, who immediately sent one hundred grenadiers to line the hedges on the way to that only pass by which their opponents could retreat, and to secure that point from a body of Protestants whom they saw advancing towards it. party consisted of five companies of foot, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, coming to the assistance of Colonel Edmonston. Whitney commanded three young captains to lead on the men, but when he saw the enemy he retracted his orders, and commanded the men to face about and retire; he was obeyed by all but Captain James M'Gill, who ashamed of so base a retreat, went on towards the pass: Sir Arthur Rawdon and Captain Dunbar came to the pass at the same time, and having no other way to escape, ventured through all the shot poured in upon them from the hedges, until they met Captain James M'Gill, upon which they were about to charge the enemy again, when they perceived another party of Irish in the rear, and in a few minutes Captain M'Gill was shot off his horse; a captain of the Irish grenadiers came up and run his sword through the body of the fallen and wounded officer, and another of the savages dashed out his brains with a musket. By the time that Sir Arthur Rawdon had got over the pass, Major Baker and Captain Hugh M'Gill had come up to it with as many men as they could get together, and had stopped Colonel Whitney's party in its shameful retreat. Edmonston and Shaw also got to their assistance, by different ways, but the soldiers having little or no ammunition or match left, the number of the Irish every moment increasing, and news arriving of Lord Galmoy's approach to Moneymore, it was resolved that Edmonston and Whitney should retreat with their regiments to Coleraine, that Sir Arthur Rawdon and his own regiment of dragoons, with Colonel Skeffington's and Colonel Canning's regiments of foot, should retire towards Derry, which was accordingly done, Lieutenant-Colonel Willian Canning having the command of Canning's regiment, which had been raised at Garvagh.

The loss at Portglenone, though numerically small, was considerable to the Protestants at this critical time, for besides a few common soldiers killed or missing, with Captain Henly, who was wounded and taken prisoner, and Captain James M'Gill, who was cruelly put to death in a condition which would have excited the sympathy of a civilized enemy, the services of two able officers, Colonel Edmonston and Sir Arthur Rawdon, terminated here; the former died at Culmore Fort in a week afterwards, of a disease caught in the trenches at Portglenone, in a season unusually cold and wet, and the latter, who was always of a tender constitution, was so injured in his health by the fatigue he suffered on this occasion, that he was obliged to retire from the army. . He was so obnoxious to King James's government, that in the parliament held on the ensuing month, he was particularly exempted from mercy, as "one of the principal actors of the rebellion," as it was termed, "and one of those who advised and fomented it, inveigling others to be involved therein." Sir Arthur Rawdon had married Helena, daughter and heiress to Sir James Graham, youngest son of the Earl of Monteith, and through this lady the present Marquis of Hastings is thought to have a title to that ancient earldom, which is now dormant-by the failure of male issue.

The Irish having crossed the Bann, all the Protestant army of Moneymore, Magherafelt, Dawson's-bridge, Belaghy, Toome, and New Ferry, retreated over Carntogher mountains into Derry. Coleraine, too, was abandoned, and all the population of the country not belonging to the Church of Rome followed

their armed protectors, with the exception of those who, from age or infirmity, were unable to travel, and a few captains who took protections from the enemy.

On the ninth of this month, this body of distressed people arrived at the water-side, and the ferry which led over to the city; the army without a general, and the terrified crowds which followed in the rear, exhibiting as melancholy a spectacle as could be presented to the human eye. Driven by the sword of a merciless enemy from house and home, destitute of all provisions or clothing except what their precipitate flight allowed them to carry about their persons; with a pursuing foe in their rear, and a deep and rapid river in their front, their last hope was an admission, by the slow means of a ferry boat, into a garrison already crowded with afflicted families, and scantily provided with the means of subsistence. dragoons alone had brought with them a store of meal and other provisions, and those, with the rest of the horse, were ordered by Lundy to Strabane, Lifford, and Letterkenny. The rest were ferried over, and received with cordiality by all but the treacherous governor and a few of his secret adherents. On the next day, Cairnes of Knockmany returned from London with instructions, and a letter from King William to Colonel Lundy. As he came near the city, he met some officers and a great many people going away from it. Lundy had offered passes to these officers, and by his discouraging representations prevailed on them to quit the place, which they did under strong suspicion of that treachery which, although it detracted from the credit of his asseverations, furnished an argument sufficiently strong to prevent them from expecting safety under such a commander. Cairnes delivered the king's letter to the governor and council, acquainting them with the cause of his coming, and the forces which were on their passage from England for their relief. He earnestly dissuaded them from deserting this place, now the last hold of the Pro-

testants of Ireland, with the exception of Enniskillen, which was not likely to stand against the forces now advancing towards it; and he desired, according to his instructions, a particular account of the present condition of the city, as to men, arms, ammunition, and provisions. In consequence of this communication from the king and their friends in England, the council resolved to stand by each other, and not to leave the kingdom, or desert the public service, till their affairs should be settled in a secure posture. A copy of this resolution was affixed on the market-house, and read next morning at the head of every battalion in the garrison. The signatures affixed to it were those of Lord Blaney, Sir Arthur Rawdon, Paulet Philips, Hugh M'Gill, Richard Crofton, John Hill, George Hamilton, Arthur Upton, James Hamilton, Nicholas Atchison, H. Montgomery, Thomas Whitney, William Ponsonby, Richard Johnston, Robert Lundy, Richard Whaley, Daniel M'Neil, William Shaw, J. Forward, Gervais Squire, J. Blaney and John Tubman. The soldiers expressed their joy at this declaration by loud shouts and huzzas; many were encouraged by it to remain in the city, although they had resolved to go away: but Cairnes's letters to several persons of note, who had fled in a panic to Castledoe, for the purpose of embarking there for Scotland, were fruitless, and while the soldiers and townsmen were murmuring at Lundy's evident neglect of all means of defence, the enemy appeared on the opposite side of the Foyle, preparing to cross the river in their boats. In the mean time, the Rev. George Walker receiving intelligence that the Irish army was advancing to Derry, had rode thither and communicated his information to Lundy, who treated it as a false alarm; upon which he returned to Lifford, where he joined Colonel Crofton and his regiment on the thirteenth of April, and fought the enemy across the river during the whole of the night. The Fin and the Mourne, themselves composed of many rivers flowing from the surrounding mountains of Tyrone

and Donegal, unite at this town, and form the broad and rapid Foyle, swollen at this time to its brim, and rendering the passage of it by an army almost impossible. An account of the transactions at this time, to be found in a poem discovered at Armagh some years ago, states, that the Irish, after losing many men in the water, and staining its waves with gore, forced their way over the river at Lifford, and pursued the retreating Protestants with great slaughter; but the state of the floods at this place rendering it impossible for dragoons to pass over at Claudy, three miles higher up, without swimming; no credit can be given to this story, and it may be the more safely classed under the head of a poetical fiction, because Mackinzie tells us, that on the next night Colonel Hamill, the gallant proprietor of Lifford, with his regiment, which he had raised there and in the neighbouring town of Strabane, repulsed the enemy, with the aid of Crofton and his men, whom Walker had left there on the morning of that day, when, in obedience to Lundy's command, he went to take his post at the Long Causeway. Walker adds, that Colonel Crofton maintained this post against the enemy on the second night's defence of it, with great resolution. A proclamation had been issued from the council at Derry on the thirteenth, requiring that all who would fight for their country and religion, against popery, should appear on the fittest ground for battle near Cladyford, Lifford, and the Long Causeway, to engage the enemy on the ensuing Monday, and to bring with them at least a week's provisions for men, and as much as they could for horses. signatures to this order, which had not been affixed to the preceding one, were those of Walter Dawson, William Stewart, John Barry, C. Frowde, Francis Hamilton and Kilner Brazier. At this council, Lundy was chosen commander-in-chief, a trust which, for reasons best known to himself, he readily accepted. On the same day, Major Stroud made some proposals to him,

of which no notice was taken, and most of the suburbs on both sides of the river were burned or pulled down.

On the fourteenth, the enemy's army marched from the water-side, where they had on the preceding day made a show of crossing the river, and proceeded towards Strabane. The vigilant Cairnes, on perceiving their movements, went twice to the new commander-in-chief, urging him to take some prompt measures for securing the passes of the Finn and the Foyle at Clady and Lifford; but a careless reply, that orders to this effect had been given, served to diminish the general astonishment at the sad occurrences of the ensuing day. Several other persons sent word to Lundy, that if he did not march the men from the city that day to defend the passes, they could not arrive in time to do so next morning, and entreated him to be with them at both these places on that night. Lundy having already decoyed Lord Kingston, and a thousand horse and foot, which he had collected in the provinces of Munster and Connaught for the defence of Sligo, and ordered to stay and keep the passes between Lough Erne and Ballyshannon, sent an express to that nobleman, which he received at ten o'clock this night, requiring him and his troops to join the Protestants in the Lagan, and be at Clady, Lifford, and the Long Causeway, before ten o'clock next morning. The nearest of his forces were at that time thirty miles from any of the places to which they were ordered, so that the design of so short a notice was accomplished by the impossibility of obeying it. His Lordship, however, marched at an early hour in the morning towards Derry, and when he had brought his men within five miles of Raphoe, he met several of the Protestants running from Claudy, who informed him that Lundy, with the British forces, had fled to Derry, the Irish having advanced in pursuit of them as far as Raphoe, after having forced their passage across the Finn water. In a popular historical play, called

IRELAND preserved, or the SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY, the feelings of the Protestant officers at this time are thus delineated: -The scene having been changed from Derry to Castlefin, Colonel Mitchelburn thus addresses a brother officer: "What do you think, Colonel Murray, is this fair dealing or not? On Tuesday last I parted with Governor Lundy, who promised that I should be relieved or reinforced with strong detachments of men, arms, and ammunition; does he think I can defend all these passes against the enemy, with little more than one regiment? 'Tis now the afternoon of Sunday, and we see no appearance of troops, although the great body of the enemy's troops marched from the water-side of Derry yesterday. I expect their attack to-night." The Town Major of the city replies: "Tis admirable that he does not take care; a good commander would not send his men farther than he would venture to go himself. See how regular General Hamilton advances, although he has not one half the number of men which we have, while our Governor lies sotting and drinking in Derry, waiting for the enemy to come and pull him out of it by the ears. He sends us upwards of twelve miles from the city, as the governor of Coleraine packed us off to be surrounded and cut off by the enemy's horse and dragoons. Twice have we escaped with our lives by a good retreat; I hope we may be able to do so a third time." Mitchelburn answers--- "He is safe, my friend, though we are not. General Hamilton and he combine against us; we have enemies before and behind; we are betrayed, sold, our lives allotted and designed by them to be a sacrifice to the enemy's fury." Colonel Murray says: "'Tis a most deplorable case; think how we are served. Lord Kingston is within twenty miles of us, with three thousand foot and a thousand horsemen, to join us; yet by private designs and villany, this treacherous governor and his friends are not contented to get this kingdom to themselves, but attempt to destroy us root and branch. Thus are we scattered

through the country, on purpose that the enemy shall have little or no opposition."

At six o'clock on Sunday evening Mitchelburn had despatched an express to the governor at Derry, imploring assistance. He stated that the enemy's troops were advancing upon him, and that their only preservation for that night was the flush of water in the river, occasioned by the heavy rains. Lundy replied, that he would march next morning with two thousand men and five pieces of cannon. On the morning of Monday, the fifteenth, Colonel Cunningham and Richards arrived in Lough Foyle, with two regiments of foot, and other necessaries, for the support of Derry. They sent their first message to Lundy from Greencastle, desiring his orders about landing, and received no answer to it. The second message they sent from Redcastle, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and hearing in reply that the governor had gone with his forces to fight the enemy at Clady, Colonel Cunningham wrote to him from on board "THE SWALLOW," letting him know that two well disciplined regiments had arrived there with him, and might join his army in two days at the farthest, being likely to be of great use on any occasion, but particularly for the encouragement of new-raised and untrained men. He added his advice, to stop the passes on the Finn till he could arrive there, and enable him to join battle with the greater probability of success. Having received no answer to either of these communications, he despatched another with a messenger from Culmore Castle, at nine o'clock that night.

In the mean time, the Protestants at Clady, who, a week before, had broken down the bridge there, had thrown up a breastwork at the end of it. Some of the Irish foot had arrived on the opposite bank of the river at an early hour, but it was noon before the great body of their horse got there from Strabane. It was eight o'clock before Lundy marched out of Derry with the troops intended to guard this pass, and

with the reinforcements which joined them on their march, they amounted to ten thousand men, a force more than sufficient to repel the enemy, which was said to have been little more than half that number. The first division of the enemy which attempted to ford the river at Castlefin, was repulsed by a party of Colonel Skiffington's regiment posted there. Another small party, consisting of but thirty dragoons of Colonel Stewart's men, after most of the few foot who had been posted there were beaten off, opposed the enemy's passing over the ford until all their ammunition was spent, and there was no more sent to them. Lundy had so managed matters, that the necessary supply of ammunition was but three or four miles out of the city when his routed forces met the convoy on their retreat. Major Stroud, who had some cavalry at Clady-ford, was so disadvantageously placed, that he could not bring them on, though he earnestly endeavoured to do so; so that those who had defended the breastwork at the broken bridge were obliged to retire from it. At this moment several troops of the enemy's horse rushed into the river and swam across it. Two of their officers, Major Nangle, and another whose name is not mentioned, were drowned. The state of the flood at this time near Clady proves the impossibility of any portion of the Irish having passed the Foyle at Lifford on the preceding night. Colonel Gordon O'Neill assured Mr. Mackinzie, author of the Narrative of the Siege of Derry, that when they had got over the river this day at the former of these places, the Irish were in great terror of an attack from their opponents, for so high were the waters, that they had scarcely a dry shot left to them. Lundy, however, was their best friend on this occasion, for so far from putting the Protestants into any posture of defence, by which they might have cut off the enemy as they arrived on their side of the river, he gave orders for a precipitate flight to Derry, himself leading the way in such a manner as to afford reason to suppose he la-

boured to excite a general feeling of terror and consternation. He sent no orders to any other divisions of the army, but at none of the passes did they amount to any considerable number. On the news arriving in Lifford that the Irish horse had got over the Finn water at Clady, the foot, who had been posted there, and were then firing across the river at some of the enemy on the Tyrone side of it, were called off, and retired to the pass at Long Causeway, a short distance north of Lifford, on the direct road to Derry. Colonel Francis Hamilton collected those who arrived there, and drew them up in good order behind the pass, expecting the Irish would take that road towards the city. But they pursued the Protestants who took their way through Raphoe, where they did great execution upon Colonel Montgomery's regiment of foot, no care having been taken to secure their retreat. Many more would have fallen there by the sword of their merciless enemy, had they not precipitated themselves into the bogs and marshes of the adjoining parish of Clonleigh. The Protestants at the Long Causeway staid on the post they had taken there till the evening, when fearing that the enemy would get between them and Derry, they retired thither. On Lundy's arrival there he ordered the gates to be shut, so that many officers, soldiers, and private gentlemen, were forced to remain outside the walls that night, exposed to the danger of being cut to pieces by the enemy's cavalry, from whose rapid and merciless pursuit they had so lately escaped. Among those shut out from the city on this perilous night, were George Walker, with his regiment, and it was not without difficulty, and some violence on the sentinels, that they got admission on the next morning. The reason assigned by Lundy for this suspicious measure, was his anxiety to preserve the provisions of the city, by keeping all out of it above the number requisite for its defence. He said he had provisions for three thousand men for three months, and that he did not consider it prudent to diminish the period

he could hold out, by adding to the number of those who should be fed there. His letter to Major Tiffin, on the night of the same day, contradicted this assertion, for it stated that without an immediate supply of provisions the place would of necessity fall into the enemy's hands. He had before written to Cunningham, informing him of the disaster at Clady, and consenting to the landing of the English troops, but in a post-script to his letter to Major Tiffin, he alleged that he had not above two days' provisions in the city for three thousand men, though all unnecessary mouths had been sent out of it, and he ordered Cunningham and Richards to leave their men on board their ships, and come with some of their officers into the city, that they might resolve what was to be done.

Accordingly on the next day Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Richards, with some of their officers, came to Derry, where Lundy called a council of war. Along with himself and other officers, it consisted of Lord Blaney, Captain James Hamilton and ten others, namely, Hussey, Tiffin, Coote, Cornwal, Echlin, Taunter, Lyndon, Pearson, Pache and Taylor. None of the inhabitants of the city were called to this council but Mogridge the town clerk, and when Colonels Chichester, Crofton, Ponsonby, and Francis Hamilton, who had some suspicion of Lundy's design, desired to be admitted, they were refused admittance at the door, although Lundy had, in the same council, alleged that he had sent for Hamilton and Chichester, and for Sir Arthur Rawdon, who he said was dying.

On receiving the king's letter and orders from Colonel Cunningham, the governor repeated the representation he had before made by letter, of the defenceless state of the city, advising all present to quit it, and declared his intention to do so himself. The English officers, it is but just to say, agreed with him in opinion, being unacquainted with the falsehood of the representation he had made to them, particularly that

in which he had stated that James's army, consisting of twentyfive thousand men, were at that moment approaching near to the gates. Colonel Richards was the only Englishman who objected to the measure proposed, and he argued unanswerably, that the surrender of Londonderry at that crisis, would be the loss of the whole kingdom. A resolution was, however, made, that it was not convenient to the king's service to land the two English regiments then on board the ships in the harbour, and that the principal officers should privately withdraw themselves, as well for their own preservation as in hopes that the inhabitants, by a timely capitulation, might make better terms with the enemy, who, at all events, would soon possess themselves of the place. It seems incredible that Lundy could thus delude some of the officers who assisted in the council, particularly Lord Blaney, whose services had been already so eminent; but there is no calculating to what extent one accomplished villain may practise on the credulity of unsuspecting men, and if ever there was an adept in the science of treachery, this Governor of Londonderry seems to have been one. After the council broke up the English officers returned to their ships, which had fallen down the river that day towards Redcastle; and Lundy, in prosecution of his nefarious plans, made a public declaration, that the council had resolved on the immediate landing of the English regiments; and he ordered the Sheriffs to provide quarters for them in the city. This he did to delude the officers and soldiers, who had earnestly entreated that their troops should be landed and join with them in the preservation of that corner, as it were, of the province into which so great a proportion of the inhabitants, provisions, and wealth of three or four counties had been brought together, exhibiting as powerful a temptation to a necessitous enemy, as affording the strongest inducement and most encouraging means to defend so many lives and so much substance. One of the officers of the council, however, informed Colonel Francis Hamilton and Captain Hugh M'Gill of the resolution which the council had really made, and advised them to quit the city. M'Gill discovered it to Sir Arthur Rawdon and others, who thinking, as they well might, that they had been betrayed, deemed it madness to remain as a sacrifice to the fury of a triumphant enemy, and therefore many of them got off to the ships on the day following.

Sir Arthur Rawdon, however, did not leave the city without protesting against the proceedings of Lundy's council, and Walker says he would not have gone away but that he was dangerously sick, and was forced to do so by his friends and physicians. He survived for some years, but it is certain that his constitution, which had been delicate from infancy, never recovered the injury it sustained at the trenches in Portglenone. The common soldiers and the lower order of the citizens were fired with the utmost indignation at the resolution of the governor and council; they vented their fury upon some of the officers whom they saw leaving the city, and shot one of them, a Captain Bell, who, with some others, had got into a boat which was pushing off from one of the quays. The officers who had resolved to remain, and who possessed the confidence of the multitude, endeavoured, with some success, to restrain their violence, and to support their spirits under the discouragements which had nearly driven them to despair.

At this time, the chief part of the infantry which had retreated from Clady and the other passes on the Finn water, came to the gates in tolerable order; but Lundy took care that they should be shut against them. Had the pursuit been very close the consequences might have been fatal; but Hamilton had got too warm a reception on the 27th of March, at Coleraine, to be rash in approaching the walls of Derry. On the sentinels refusing him admittance, one of the captains of Skiffington's regiment discharged a pistol at him, and called for fire to burn the gate; upon which it and all the other gates

were thrown open to the retreating army, when all who had not got into the city with Walker on the preceding night, then found their way into it.

From the scarcity of forage in the city, and the difficulty of finding accommodation for so many horses in it, the cavalry were sent towards Culmore. Some of the officers and soldiers, influenced by Lundy's representations, or despairing of safety by any other means, took refuge in the ships anchored there, and at this time overflowing with passengers; others, resolved to stand upon their defence and sell their lives as dear as possible, collected round the gallant Colonel Murray, and put themselves under his command.

In the mean time Lord Kingston and his army, which would have placed the enemy between two fires, and in a most perilous situation, had the two English regiments been marched round by Strabane and joined to his force at Castlefin, were sent back to Donegal, when within five miles of Raphoe, a few hours after the Irish army had passed the ford at Clady. An account was sent to this gallant nobleman by the treacherous Lundy, that there was neither room for his men or forage for his horses in Londonderry. In consequence of this, he fell back to the quarters from which he had advanced, by a forced march, on the preceding night, and ordering his cavalry to secure themselves in Enniskillen, and his infantry in Donegal, Ballyshannon, and other places, he forced himself, with a few of his officers, into a French vessel at Killybegs, pushed out to sea, and hastened to give King William an account of the distressed state of the Protestants of Ireland.

James remained in Dublin from the 24th of March to the 8th of April, and during the short time he stayed there, seemed to be much more anxious to force Popery upon the Protestants, than to prepare for the contest which awaited him in Ulster.

The Romish priests and friars in the metropolis at this time

amounted to three or four hundred in number, sleek, lusty, well-fed fellows, whose effrontery, as mendicants for means to build chapels, was not to be paralleled. In a short time four-teen mass-houses and convents, and two nunneries, were erected in the metropolis, a chief part of the cost of which came out of the pockets of Protestants, who dared not to refuse subscriptions.

On one of the three Sundays during James's stay in Dublin, a Dr. Larbonne preached a controversial sermon before him in the cathedral of Christ Church, and on another, an ecclesiastic, named Hall, preached a discourse on the same subject, corrupting his text by rendering the passage "do penance" instead of "repent." Although Popery appeared now to be nearly triumphant, the Protestant religion did not want an advocate, and a powerful one, in Doctor Nathaniel Foy, then minister of St. Bridget's, in Dublin, and afterwards Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. A few of his friends who wrote short-hand, attended the delivery of these sermons, provided him with exact copies of them, and he replied to them with such ability, from his pulpit, that multitudes flocked to hear him from all parts of the city, rejoicing that the cause of truth was so well defended. For this conscientious discharge of duty he was grossly insulted, and his life endangered. He was assaulted by Popish soldiers while performing the burial service in his church yard, and was prevented from preaching several days by King James's guards, who surrounded his church, and threatened to shoot him if he should attempt to do so. These were the most cogent arguments used against him, and to render them the more convincing, he was imprisoned with the celebrated Doctor William King, and some other Protestant clergymen, who, like him, had preferred their duty to their interest and personal safety. A third sermon delivered before this bigoted Prince was not so agreeable to him as the two former. One Moore, a Popish ecclesiastic, preaching be-

fore him in Christ Church, alleged that he did not do justice to the only true Church and her clergy, and said that kings ought to consult their confessors in all temporal affairs, as the clergy possessed a temporal as well as spiritual right; but that kings had nothing whatever to do with the management of spiritual affairs, but were to obey the orders of the Church. This was too much to be borne even by this priest-ridden prince. The preacher, to avoid banishment, privately withdrew from the court in consequence of a message he received from the incensed king, who, nevertheless, hastened to gratify the Popish clergy, by inflicting severe injury and insult on the Protestant bishops and their clergy. Their churches in the metropolis had been all seized in the course of the preceding month of February, and converted into store-houses for arms. Out of twenty-two spiritual peers, only seven remained in Ireland; the others had fled from persecution, with many of the inferior clergy, who were at that time subsisting by the means of private alms in the western parts of England. Of the bishops who remained on account of age and infirm health, three were treated in a cruel and inhuman manner. The primate, Dr. Michael Boyle, then upwards of eighty years old, had the temerity to refuse a subscription to some friars who applied to him for aid to build a mass-house, and the consequence was, that a warrant was issued by Sir Thomas Hacket for the apprehension of that prelate's son and nephew, who were seized and kept in prison for several months. Dr. John Roan, Bishop of Killaloe, was robbed of all his substance; and Dr. Hugh Gore, Bishop of Waterford, at the age of seventy-eight years, was seized in his bed by a band of ruffians, stripped and beaten till he was left for dead. The archbishopric of Cashel, and the bishoprics of Clogher, Elphin, and Clonfert, were seized, with many inferior benefices, and the money received out of them disposed of in maintenance of Popish bishops and priests, in direct violation of the existing laws and constitution

of the realm. Several of the parochial clergy were cruelly beaten and ill treated. They were waylaid as they went out upon their clerical duty, fired at, wounded, and in many instances narrowly escaped with their lives; some were beaten with such severity, that they died in a short time afterwards, and Archbishop King says, that the Protestant parishioners were in general so apprehensive of the danger in which their ministers were, that they besought them to withdraw themselves out of it by flying to England or Scotland. Those who were unable or unwilling to leave their homes and parishes, were obliged to walk from house to house to perform their offices, as their horses had been taken from them; and at last they were almost all committed to prison, and some of them tried for their lives, and condemned to death as traitors and rebels; even in the city of Dublin, under the eye of James and his government, a Protestant clergyman could scarcely walk the streets without receiving either injury or abuse. The soldiers considered it part of their duty to insult them, and the French dragoons called them Diables des minestres heretiques, un Protestant, un Diable.

On the eighth of April, James left Dublin, and marched with his army towards Ulster; it consisted of twelve thousand men and a tolerable train of artillery. His generals were Monsieur Maumont, who commanded the French horse, and the Marquis De Mensea Pusignian, who had charge of the infantry. He was accompanied by the Duke of Berwick, Lords Netterville and Abercorn, and many other noblemen and gentlemen of distinction. Sir Michael Creagh, Lord Mayor of Dublin, accompanied the unfortunate prince in the double capacity of paymaster-general to the army, and commander of a regiment of foot. In his progress through the north, James stopped a few days at Armagh, which he found inconvenient to himself and his train, as it had but a few days before been pillaged by the retreating Protestant army.

From this he sent Monsieurs De Rosen and Maumont to view the troops at Dungannon, to which place he went immediately afterwards himself, where he saw the regiment of Cavenagh, armed half with pikes and half with muskets, but so bad and so much out of order, that not one hundred of them were fit for service, which surprised him very much, and made him redouble his orders for bringing arms into Ulster from Cork, Kinsale, and Waterford, with all speed. The Marquis De Pusignian waited on him here, and informed him that Lieutenant-General Hamilton's army at Strabane was in little better condition than that at Dungannon, for want of arms and ammunition, which obliged the king to reiterate his orders to the Duke of Tyrconnel and Sieur De Pointis, for a speedy supply of both. On the fourteenth he proceeded to Omagh, from which he found Hamilton had marched with his army for Strabane, and Pusignian, with a considerable body of horse and dragoons, for Clady-ford. Upon hearing here that the Protestants had shown themselves in great numbers on the Donegal side of the Finn water, he sent forward Rosen and Maumont, with Monsieur Lery and the troops that remained in Omagh, except one regiment of foot and one troop of dragoons, to secure, if possible, the pass over the river.

On the same day that General Hamilton, the Duke of Berwick, and Monsieur Pusignian, forced their passage over the Finn at Clady-ford, Monsieur de Rosen, according to King James's account of the campaign, published in Macpherson's collection of state papers, crossed over the river at Lifford with so small a force as two troops of horse and one of dragoons, though the Protestants on the Donegal side, who opposed them, were effectually ten times their number. The Royal Historian says, that De Rosen and his general officers leading the way, the troops courageously followed them, swimming the river, and by so bold an action terrified their adversaries, who

fled upon the first charge made upon them, and were pursued with considerable slaughter for three or four miles.

On the sixteenth of April, King James returned from Omagh to Claremont, from which he sent a body of troops to reinforce the garrison at Coleraine, as also some aid to his friends in the county of Down, where there was some appearance of a rising of the Protestant population against him. His intention was to return to Dublin for the purpose of providing all things necessary for the siege of Derry, but on that night he received an express from the general officers of his army in the neighbourhood of that city, informing him that after resting the troops on the seventeenth and eighteenth, they had resolved to join all their force, and advance to the gates at once, in expectation of being admitted, on account of the general consternation which had seized the multitudes who had fled there on the passages of the Finn water being forced.

On the morning of the seventeenth, another express arrived to him from the Duke of Berwick, saying that the Derry men, whom he termed rebels, had sent to capitulate with General Hamilton, who had referred them to Monsieur De Rosen as his superior officer, and that De Rosen had offered them the benefit of his Majesty's proclamation, as an inducement to a prompt submission. Nothing could be more acceptable to James than this intelligence, for the success of his attempt to regain the crown, evidently depended on his getting possession of such a point in Ireland as Londonderry, from which he could act by transmitting his army into Scotland. Lord Dundee, and a powerful party of nobility and gentry, would have received him with enthusiasm in the ancient realm of his family, and their devotion to him was blended with feelings of self-preservation, which offered the best security for fidelity, as, by the triumph of William, the Episcopal Church of Scotland was prostrated, and Presbyterianism established on its ruins. He therefore resolved at once to return to the north-

west of Ulster, and present himself before the gates of Londonderry, convinced, by the accounts which he had received, that nothing more was wanting to the accomplishment of his most sanguine wishes than his presence there. A report, too, had prevailed in the north, that he had returned to Brest, and died there; and this rumour it was necessary to contradict as soon as possible, by showing himself at the head of his hitherto victorious army. Therefore, leaving a great part of his train at Charlemont, and taking with him only those who were necessary to his household, he rode a long and painful journey of thirty miles to Newtown-Stewart, where he arrived late at night. He rested, without undressing himself, for a few hours in Lord Mountjoy's castle there, which his army afterwards burned on their retreat, and the next morning, by break of day, he was on horseback, and rode to Strabane, where he arrived at eight o'clock. There he received a letter from De Rosen, informing him of a second capitulation from Derry, and that he was marching with the whole army to present himself before the gates. The same letter informed him that the English ships, with two regiments on board, were anchored in Lough Foyle. Disappointed at not finding the army there, James did not stop at Strabane, though a local tradition says he slept there that night. He passed the river on horseback, and overtook the infantry commanded by Monsieur Pusignian, near Ballindrate, about two miles from Lifford; and having viewed them without stopping, he went on to join Monsieur de Rosen, who had marched from Strabane about four hours before his arrival there. A part of the horse had been sent on the preceding day to Raphoe, as well to save the provisions, as to drive the Protestants, as it were, into a net in the peninsula, between Lough Swilly and Lough Foyle, and thereby prevent even a possibility of their escape. De Rosen, however, had got within two miles of Derry before he was overtaken by his royal master, who then put himself at the

head of his army, and marching directly towards the city, halted on a hill within cannon shot of the walls.

The place was now surrounded, except on the water side, by horse and foot, presenting a most formidable appearance to a garrison unused to warfare, and distracted by the counsels of a party within their walls, which, at this moment, possessed sufficient influence to procure an offer of surrender to be signed, and sent out to General Hamilton by Captain White. The bearer was, however, to stipulate that the besieging army should not, in the mean time, advance within four miles of the city. Rosen, in the mean time, had distributed the besieging army in such a way as to invest the place, from the river under Ballougry to the shore at Culmore. According to Captain Francis Neville's map of the city and adjoining lands, as besieged at this time, the order in which troops were stationed was as follows. Commencing with Lord Galmoy's horse and Sir Michael Creagh's regiment of foot, extending from Balloughry hill to the water, viz: the regiments commanded by Colonel Barrington, Colonel Butler, Colonel Ramsay, Lord Slane, Colonel Hamilton, and Lord Gormanstown. Sir Maurice Eustace and his regiment had charge of the magazine, between General Hamilton's quarters and a mill a little to the north of the bishop's demesne. In General Hamilton's front was a strong post, and between it and Pennyburn-mill were Colonel Cavanagh and his regiment. Colonel Butler's was encamped near Charles-fort and round to the bank of the river, where the boom was afterwards fixed, and on the opposite side, a little lower down, was Sir Neill O'Neill's regiment of dragoons. Lord Clancarty and his men occupied a position on the road to Green-castle, about half way between Charles-fort and an old chapel on the rising ground above Culmore; and between this chapel and the river Fitzgerald's and Bagnal's regiments shut out all communication by land between Culmore and the city. The fort had a mound of sodwork for its protection on the land side, and the batteries on the side towards the water were very formidable to vessels coming up the river.

The officers of the besieging army, as well as James himself, appear to have been ignorant of what had occurred on this and the preceding day in the city, which they hoped to gain so easily. In the midst of the consternation artfully spread around by Lundy, and after the indignant citizens had slain one retreating officer and wounded another, a gallant country gentleman named Murray, arrived at the head of a body of cavalry, and although the faithless governor refused him admittance into the city, forcibly entered it, and was received with acclamation. He harangued the surrounding crowds on the perfidy of their governor, and expatiated on the baseness of surrendering a place garrisoned by such brave men, to an abdicated king and a popish army. Rosen, in the mean time, regardless of the stipulation made by General Hamilton, ordered the troops to advance towards the city, and they posted themselves very near to it, under the shelter of a wind-mill and a house near it. He detached other bodies of his men along the low lands called the Bogside, near the Butcher's-gate. While this was doing, a trumpet arrived from the city to the king, requiring an hour's time to consider his summons to surrender, and desiring that the troops should advance no farther than they had done. Rosen took no notice of this, and the trumpeter was afterwards killed. In a few minutes, as the Irish army continued to advance with James at their head, a terrific discharge of cannon and musquetry commenced from the walls of the city, and continued with little or no intermission for the rest of the day. Several of the besieging army fell by this fire, and among the rest one Captain Trov, who was killed near the king's person. This salutation, unexpected as it was, from Lundy's representations, who had, on the preceding night, caused the gates to remain

open till Major Crofton secured them, and doubled the guards. had such an effect on the undisciplined Irish and their unfortunate king, that the utmost terror and confusion prevailed amongst them. The treacherous council of the city in vain endeayoured to allay their apprehensions, by sending Archdeacon Hamilton to the Irish camp, to excuse themselves for what had passed, and lay the blame of it on a turbulent body of men whom they were unable to restrain, and whom they falsely represented as a drunken rabble. The better sort they said were generally resolved to surrender in a dutiful manner, and did all they could to persuade the common people to do the same. James, however, to use the language of his own diary, had eat nothing for the whole of that day, and notwithstanding that and the fatigue of the two preceding days, had remained the whole of it on horseback, exposed to cannon, and under heavy and incessant rain, waiting for the effects of the assurances which had been given to him. He therefore resolved to draw off his troops, and retire to St. Johnston, to wait the arrival of the artillery which he expected, and to provide other necessaries either for a siege or a blockade. Archdeacon Hamilton abandoned the city, took a protection from the abdicated king, and entertained him during his stay at the castle of Mongevelin, within a short distance of St. Johnston. Captain Murray, in the mean time, had advanced from Culmore fort to a green field below Pennyburn-mill, with a body of horse considerable enough to dislodge the enemy which had occupied this ground before he approached to it, and he left fifteen hundred men below Brook-hall as a body of reserve. His first appearance had the effect of inducing the ardent spirits within the walls to give the astonished tyrant and his slaves a reception that astonished them; and he now received an express from the governor and council, requiring him to withdraw his men without delay to the back of the hill, out of the view of the city. The messenger, who was a relative and namesake of the gallant Murray, informed him that the governor and council were then making terms for a surrender of the city, and advised him if he wished to save it, to lose no time in hastening to the aid of the citizens, who had determined not to capitulate while they could raise an arm to defend themselves. He therefore resolved to march to the city; and after some opposition from the enemy's dragoons as he passed along the river side, arrived safely at Shipquay-gate. The council sent him a message, that he might be taken up alone upon the walls by a rope, but this proposal he treated with disdain, and Captain Morrison, who commanded the guard, without waiting for orders, opened the gate to him and his troops. His presence, says Mackinzie, struck a cold damp in the governor and council, but inspired the men on the walls with vigour and resolution. The council, however, proceeded in their attempt to surrender, and many of them signed a declaration to that purpose, who afterwards signalized themselves in the defence of the city. Murray was received by the multitude with every demonstration of respect, confidence, and affection. They detailed to him their wrongs, and implored his assistance. He replied, that he would stand by them to the latest hour of his existence, in defence of the Protestant interest, and that his first act should be a prevention of a surrender, and his next, the suppression of Lundy and his council. Captain Noble, of Lisnaskea, in the county of Fermanagh, and a Captain Bashford, with many other gentlemen, declared their resolution to second the noble designs of Murray, and all who would join them were desired to signify their intention by putting a bandage of white cloth round their left arm. This scene is not ill described in the homely verse of a manuscript, said to be found in a gentleman's library at Armagh about thirty years ago, and which, mutilated as it has been, by a loss of eight pages in the most interesting part of it, records more of the names and circumstances of the defenders of Londonderry, than any

of the other accounts which we have had of the transactions of that eventful time.

The illiterate, but amusing poet, thus describes Murray's entrance on his career of glory:—

"Archdeacon Hamilton by James is sent Into the city with this compliment; If they in four days would yield up the town, All the inhabitants should have their own, With pardon for their past rebellion. And he in his commission fared so well, That Lundy forced the town to article. Th' ingenious Neville, and the said divine, Went to King James to tell him they would sign In a few days; to hasten which the king The Irish army to the town did bring; Delays are dangerous, he urges on The town to sign the capitulation. Which being signed, and ready to be sent, Great Murray throws himself and compliment Just to the walls: he lay then at Culmore, And bravely fought his way upon the shore. Lundy refused him entrance-but the town Open'd their gate, unto their great renown. The loyal party knew his great design, And to his conduct they themselves resign. Then in a moment all the town rebels. And curse the author of the articles: For at the guard a proclamation's made, That all true hearts repair to the parade With handkerchiefs on arms, that all shall die, Who would yield up the town to popery. Then in a trice eight thousand men convene, To whom great Murray did this speech begin: ' Dear friends, this city is our last support; Let us not yield I earnestly exhort, Lest that it should to our disgrace be spoke, That we submitted to an Irish voke: Hold out brave boys, England will succour send, If we like men our city do defend:

Here are sufficient to sustain a siege, If we to loyalty ourselves oblige: Yet all is vain if we do not expel The traitor Lundy and his false cabal.' The town consents, huzzas now rend the sky, Then unto Lundy all in anger fly: To whom great Murray spoke this fatal speech: Of treachery I do you now impeach, Both to the Protestants and to our king-A popish reign upon us you would bring. You left Tyrone unto the enemy; At Clady-ford you made our army fly. And now you're plotting to betray the town, By a capitulation of your own. Therefore lay down your pow'r, for we will choose Such loyal men as will oppose our foes. Lieutenant Cook, who from fair Lisburn came, Courageously stood forth and said the same. Great Murray seized the guards, the keys and all; They presently a general council call. The Church and Kirk did thither jointly go, In opposition to the common foe. Although in time of peace they disagree, They sympathize in their adversity. Then in like words great Murray thus addrest-The intestine foe I have at last supprest: Here at your feet I lay down all my pow'r.

Then all with one consent,
Agreed upon a form of government.
Baker and Walker governors they chose,
And form'd eight regiments to meet their foes.
The horse to Colonel Murray they bestow;
Him general in the field they do allow.
From Philliphaugh, near Tweed, his fathers came.
The noble name of Murray is well known,
For their great service to the Royal Crown.
Cairnes of Knockmany's his Col'nel.
From Meath's fair county came his Major, Bull:
Cochran, Carlton, Moore, Herd, and Murray,

His valiant brothers, captains to him be. The Borderers did fill his regiment, Which to the field with noble courage went. The foot in manner following they dispose; Baker and Walker Colonels they chose-Whitney and Mitchelburn that honour gain; To Parker the brave regiment of Coleraine: Crofton and Hammel the same station grace-These and the Volunteers defend the place. Watson's made master of the artillery, Two hundred gunners and montrosses be: James Murray was conductor of the train; Our engineer was Adams of Strabane, For Major of the town Captain Freeman. Thus in a few hours they form'd a noble band, Which did King James's forces all withstand."

The rustic poet proceeds to describe the position of the different regiments in the besieging army, in which he differs considerably from the representation of them in Captain Neville's map. Lord Louth's camp he places on the east beyond the river, at Strong's orchard; Brigadier-General Kearney's division he stations with Sir Neill O'Neill's dragoons; and he assigns a place to Monsieur Maumont near General Hamilton, at Brookhall. An air of truth pervades this poem, and impresses a conviction on the mind, that it presents to us a picture drawn from life; and for this reason, as well as for the transmission of many names to posterity, unrecorded in any other way, it shall be quoted with slight verbal alterations, as opportunities may offer in the course of this narrative.

It may be easily conceived that the climate of Derry had now grown too warm, to suffer Governor Lundy to breathe in it much longer. "He stole off," says Dalrymple, "with a load upon his back, a disgraceful disguise, and suited to him who bore it." Walker says, that he got out with a burden of matches on his shoulders, in a sally towards Culmore; and his last act was a successful endeavour to persuade the officer in

command to surrender that fortress. Captain Ash accuses Mr. Galbraith, an attorney, and two persons named Adair, of selling Culmore to the Irish army. It is not however probable that such a transaction should have escaped the notice and animadversion of Walker and Mackinzie, neither of whom mentions it. It was the day after the repulse of James from the walls of Londonderry, that the officers mentioned in the Armagh manuscript were appointed: Walker and Mitchelburn have both given lists of them, the total amount of men and officers being little more than seven thousand men. The town was weak in its fortifications, the wall being less than nine feet thick along the face of the ramparts, with a ditch and eight bastions, and some newly raised outworks. Of all the guns upon the walls, which had been a present to the city from the London companies, nearly half a century before this time, scarcely twenty were fit for use, and nearly twenty thousand women, children, and men unarmed, or incapable of bearing arms, diminished the probability of the garrison being able to sustain a protracted siege. These were opposed to a prince, who, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, possessed an influence in Ireland, which, if estimated by the physical force of his adherents, was sufficient to bear down all opposition to him, and the number of his besieging army amounted to twenty thousand men.

While the new governors of Londonderry were examining the public stores, observing the motions of the Irish regiments around the city, and assigning a position to each division of their own forces, the unhappy James, considering how much the troops he had with him at St. Johnstown had been harassed on the preceding day, suffered them to remain there and take some rest. He held a council on this night, when it was resolved that he should return with Rosen and Lery, to meet the Parliament he had summoned to assemble on the seventh of the succeeding month, and that Hamilton, Maumont, and the

Duke of Berwick, should remain to reduce the Derry rebels, most of whom, he had heard from some sycophants, were running from the city into the wilds of Ennishowen. He then gave protections to all the Protestants who submitted to him, and he alleges that their number was great. On the twentieth he set out from St. Johnstown, and dined on his way to Strabane under a large tree, in the front of Cavanacor-house, within a mile of Lifford. The table at which he sat, and the china upon which his dinner was served up, are still preserved and shown as curiosities in the adjoining village of Ballindrate. In the evening he proceeded to Strabane, where he received a deputation, offering a surrender of Culmore Fort, which he accepted, and in consequence of which, General Hamilton was put in possession of it a few days afterwards.

On the same day a party of the besieging army marched towards Pennyburn-mill, and pitched their tents there, by which, as already mentioned, they hindered all passage to or from Culmore. The garrison despatched a Mr. Bennet on a message to the English government, and to protect him from the suspicions of the enemy, fired after him as a deserter. At the same time Lord Strahane approached the walls, a great proportion of whose defenders were his tenants, and offered the king's pardon, protection, and favour, to those who would surrender the place. During this parley the enemy were observed to draw their cannon forward, upon which his Lordship was desired to withdraw, on pain of being exposed to the danger of a shot: and as he retired he was told that the garrison of Londonderry would not surrender it to any but King William and Queen Mary, or their order. On Sunday, the twenty-first, James rode from Strabane to Omagh, in which latter place he received deputies from Castlederg, who offered a surrender of that fortress, which being strong in itself, and commanding a pass between Derry and Enniskillen, was granted favourable articles, and secured by a garrison. The Irish army in the morning of this day alarmed the city, by firing on it from a demiculverin, placed on the opposite side of the river. This, from the novelty of it, produced greater alarm than heavier cannonades did afterwards, but did little or no mischief except to the market-house. The first sally from the town was now made by a body of horse and foot, under the command of Colonel Murray; the captains of foot being, Archibald Saunderson, William Beatty, Thomas Blair, and David Blair. Lieutenant-Colonel Cairnes and Captain Philip Dunbar were posted on an eminence with a body of reserve. The horse amounted to three hundred in number, and Murray divided them into two parties. With the first of these he courageously charged the enemy himself, and the second was led forward by Major Nathaniel Bull, a gentleman of the County of Meath, to whom, as well as to his father, Major -Samuel Bull, the city of Londonderry was indebted for many eminent services. The rear was brought up by Captain Cochran, of Ballyrath, in the county of Armagh, who, when the men under his command fled, advanced with a few gallant fellows to the scene of action, where his horse was killed under him, and he received a wound in the leg. The Irish divided their horse into two squadrons also; the commander of one of them led them on with great bravery. Colonel Murray charged through that division of them, and in the course of the day had three personal encounters with him, in the last of which he killed him on the spot, and the enemy then confessed that he was their general, Maumont, whose brother also was said to have fallen by the hand of Murray, in this engagement. In the mean time the Irish horse had pursued the Derry cavalry towards the walls, to which they had retreated, but they were almost all killed by a body of the Protestant infantry, who, perceiving the retreat of their friends, had moved from a mill where they had done great execution, to the strand, near the Bog-side, in which they lined the ditches, and commanded the

pass. In the commencement of the action, the enemy brought a piece of cannon to the point on the other side of the river, opposite to the strand, and fired frequently at the besieged without effect; but a gun from the wall at last dismounted the piece, killing the gunner and others who happened to be near him. The loss on the side of the enemy amounted to more than two hundred men killed, including Major-General Maumont, Majors Taaffe and Wogan, Captain Fitzgerald, and Quartermaster Cassore. The Marquis De Pusignian was mortally wounded.* The loss on the Derry side was no more than nine or ten, among whom were Lieutenant M'Phedris, Mr. Mackey, one Harkness, and five or six private soldiers killed, but the number of the wounded was considerable. Three standards were taken from the Irish army, with a great spoil of horses, saddles, cloaks, arms, watches, and money.

The historical drama already quoted throws such light upon the general history of the country, and the particular state of the contending armies in Ulster at this period, that a few ex-

* In the Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick, vol. I. page 51, it is stated, that it was on the 25th of April, 1689, that General Pusignian received his mortal wound before Londonderry. It is added, that Brigadier-General Pointy received a wound on this occasion, of which he recovered; and that the Duke of Berwick suffered a violent contusion on the back bone at the same time. It gave him great pain, but after a few incisions he got rid of the bad effects of it. This was the only injury the duke received during the whole war.

On the same day that Maumont was killed, General Taaf and about six or seven Dragoons, with Major Taaf, brother of the Earl of Carlingford, were killed. There was not one among the French engaged this day that was not either wounded himself, or had not his horse wounded. (Berwick's Memoirs.)

Brigadier Waucobs post was on the Prehen side of the Foyle. The Duke of Berwick had his quarters below Culmore, at Muff, in Donegal. General Ramsay commanded four battalions, two miles from the city, on the St. Johnstown side of the river.

tracts from it can hardly fail to be appropriate in this place. The scene having changed from Derry to the camp of the besiegers, at Pennyburn-mill-General Hamilton enters, accompanied by Sheldon, Dorrington, Ramsay, and Buchan. Sheldon then addresses the commanding officer in the following. words:--"I understand, Hamilton, that the king has left the whole concern of the campaign under your care and conduct; and as you have been very fortunate hitherto, his Majesty is well assured there will be nothing wanting in future to the reduction of these rebels to obedience." "Alas, Sir," replies the general, "our cause is lost! we are undone. The king might as well have staid at Paris, since we can do no good. One day now is a month's loss; England will be alarmed, the Prince of Orange will soon understand our designs, all of which will be frustrated. If this unlucky accident, this opposition of the rebels to our occupying Londonderry had not happened, we would have been in Scotland before this time; we should have had an army in England, and the King of France would have assisted us. Alas! this perverse town disappoints, daunts, and so disgraces us, that all King James's army could not reduce it, inconsiderable as it is. It is but a poor revenge to starve these people; they will say it is Popish cruelty, while we shall reap no advantage from it. In three or four months the English will land upon us, and beat us out of the kingdom."

The dialogue then proceeds thus:-

Sheldon.—"I must own, with great regret, the reason why we did not succeed; it was our own fault; flushed with success on all sides, we were too sure of accomplishing our ends, and have, I fear, left an example to future ages of the consequence of despising even the most despicable enemy.

Buchan.—"This night the king sleeps at Strabane; the next at Charlemont; and so he proceeds to Dublin, where he will hold the parliament which he has summoned to assemble

on the seventh of May, when the act of settlement shall be repealed, and some laws will be enacted for the good of the nation.

Hamilton.—"Calling a parliament, Buchan! 'tis an act of folly, especially at this time. I can assure you he did not leave the French court to call a parliament in Ireland; we have weightier matters in hand. The method devised for him by the French king's council was to have taken fifty thousand men from this kingdom to join Lord Dundee's army in Scotland, and march with an overwhelming force into England, where there are multitudes ready to join his standard on the first appearance of his ability to protect them. But this cursed town ruins all—[striking his breast]—it stops our current, it is the destruction of our great designs; it makes us little in the eyes of our confederates, and will absolutely be the ruin of us all. Thousands who were favouring our interest will now decline in their ardour, turn to the other side, and make the Prince of Orange more glorious than ever.

Ramsay.—"Had these people been pardoned and sent to their homes, we might, in all probability, have had the town by this time, and used it as a point of embarkation for Scotland, but you see how the contriving of mischief for others falls upon our own heads, spoils all the king's affairs, and loses an opportunity which we shall never meet again. All our ammunition must be brought by land-carriage from Kinsale, which is about two hundred miles distant from Londonderry. In the mean time our cause is lost; to save it we should have had here by this time, five hundred barrels of gunpowder, twenty-four pieces of cannon, and all other necessary materials ready to our hand. All our designs prove vain; delays of this kind never can be retrieved; he never, never will enjoy his crown again."

The scene then changes to the city, and after a dialogue between two of the aldermen, who, late in life, and cowardly in disposition, had nevertheless changed the gown for the sword, and accepted the command of companies; it shifts about again to the Irish camp, when the dialogue is thus resumed:—

Hamilton.—"I had all these letters from the town, giving an account of the ringleaders of the rebels, and of their new Governor; the old one, it seems, they have turned out. I have likewise an assurance of the scantiness of their stores; there is very little in them.

Ramsay.—"But, Sir, the private houses are well furnished, and there is more meal and other provisions in some of them than in the stores.

Waucop.—"I had a note last night from a very honest burgher, who was deputy-mayor to Colonel Cormack O'Neill, who was placed there by Lord Tyrconnel, when a quo warranto was issued against their charter; John Buchanan they call him; he makes his request to your Excellency for a protection for himself and his family, and several others.

Hamilton.—"My secretary is drawing five hundred of these protections. There is one of my name who makes great profit by selling them at half-a-guinea a piece.

Buchan.—"Your Excellency may see that the cobweb government of Londonderry is tottering already.

Hamilton.—"If it is not tottering I will make it totter, and these rebels thall totter by scores upon yonder gallows."

The scene then changes to the city, from which two thousand chosen musketeers are suddenly sent out. The battle on the strand is represented; Murray being designated by the stage name of Monrath; Walker called Evangelist; Baker, Anthony; and Mitchelburn, Granade. It is probable that this interesting drama was written during the life-time of some of these and the other defenders of the city, who were occasionally present at the representation of it on the stage, and the subject of it not being, as the term is, "ripe for history," their real names could not with propriety be used to designate their

characters. The true names are given in these extracts, there being no longer a necessity for using the fictitious ones.

The scene changes once more to the quarters of General Hamilton, who thus addresses Generals Waucop and Buchan:

"A man came to me not long since, and told me that a swarm or two of the rebels came out of the city to take the air; they are so hot in keeping within that hive of theirs, that the old ones turn out the young ones. I'll serve them one of these days as they do the bees; put brimstone under their hive and smother them all. I was indeed going towards them on horseback, but on reflection thought it not worth my while to take that trouble. We shall have a hundred or two of them to hang presently. I have indeed allowed quarter to be given, but it is only for three days, to sport with them, to tantalize them, to serve them as a cat does a mouse, play with them a little and then devour them.

Waucop.—"I take that very well, if it were no more than to make them an example to the country.

Enter SHELDON.

Hamilton.—" What news, Sheldon? What prisoners shall we have to hang?

Sheldon.—"Prisoners, Hamilton! Your men were all beaten; the enemy were near having enough of our men prisoners, for if Lord Galmoy had not come down with his horse, and Brigadier-General Ramsay with three brigades of infantry from Ballougry, we would have been entirely routed. The reinforcement caused the rebels to retire, but Lieutenant-General Maumont has been killed, with a great many more.

Hamilton.—" Is it possible?

Sheldon .- "It is very certain, Sir.

Hamilton.—"Oh, most miserable! These rebels begin to get heart; let me immediately have a fort built to cover Pennyburn-mill, and another at Ballougry to cover my infantry."

The scene then changes to Londonderry, where Mitchel-

burn thus addresses Baker, Walker, Campbell, Murray and the Town Major:—

"A blessed Sunday's work! this is now something like success; there is some sport on our side at last. See the white carcasses of our enemies lying on the ground. Brave boys; they find what stuff we are made of; all good men and true. My dear Murray, [shaking hands with him,] you laid about you with a witness! Let us turn aside a little and see what plunder our soldiers have got."

[Enter Six Soldiers; they pass over the stage; one with a pair of jack-boots, a trooper's coat, and a case of pistols; another with a fine laced saddle, crying, "here's plunder!" a third with a scarlet coat and plate buttons, a hat and feathers; the fourth a large wig, with a silver hilted sword and gold fringed gloves; the fifth with a fine green purse, of slight net work, filled with Spanish pistoles, crying "plunder, you rogues! gold, boys;" a sixth, in his broad Scottish accent, informs the Governor that he had gotten a guid horse, but o'er muckle to gang in by the doorway.]

Mitchelburn.—"This success will much enliven our men; we shall now begin to feel how the enemy's pulse beats.

Baker.—" Aye, and their hearts too before we have done with them."

An express was sent to James with an account of this disaster, and it overtook him in Omagh on the ensuing day He was much concerned at the enterprise against Derry commencing with the loss of Maumont, and was weak enough to order his corpse to be carried to Dublin, a circumstance likely to afford a triumph to his enemies in every part of the country through which the funeral should pass. He wrote at the same time to Hamilton, positively forbidding the general officers to expose themselves as Maumont had done, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sheldon and other experienced officers, a practice which, he observed, was as contrary to prudence as

to the known rules of war, and certainly one of which he never appeared very ready to set an example in Ireland.

It is much to be regretted that Walker has omitted to give credit to Murray for having slain Maumont in single combat on this day; but it was uncandid in the publishers of the Dublin and Derry editions of his Diary, to allege that the omission was a decisive proof of a disagreement between them. Walker's conduct towards the gallant Murray on that occasion was that of a man superior to such a motive for his silence. When Murray was surrounded by a crowd of assailants, and likely to be overpowered by them, notwithstanding the prodigies of valour and strength which he exhibited, the Governor rushed from the city to his assistance, mounted a horse whose rider had been killed, rallied the retreating Protestants, and at the imminent peril of his life, rescued his friend from impending Mackinzie does justice to Murray, but is silent respecting Walker; but as his narrative was professedly written to "rectify the mistakes and supply the omissions," and not to add any thing to the dazzling fame of his renowned cotemporary, this omission is the less surprising. It affords, however, an additional proof of the necessity of a new and more satisfactory account of the transactions of this interesting period than any which has hitherto appeared.

Captain Ash says that there was much gold found in the pocket of Pusignian and Taaf, and that during the whole of this day the enemy's cannon played upon the city from the other side of the river, by which some houses in Pump street were demolished.

The poem found at Armagh records so many names and probable circumstances not mentioned by any of the journalists of this siege, that a transcript of the most curious parts of it, with a few verbal amendments, and some attempt to polish its rustic versification, cannot but be acceptable to all who deem the preservation of the history of our country to be an

object of importance to posterity. The following is the account given in it of this battle:—

"On Sunday morn By break of day, the Irish force advanc'd In squadrons two, their horse prepar'd to fight On the left wing; their foot were on the right. Maumont their horse, Hamilton their foot command, At Pennyburn river they began to stand. The sound of drums and trumpets rend the air, The flower of all King James's men were there. The noble Murray hastens to the strand, And in like manner does his troops command. Foot against foot, horse against horse he plac'd, In gallant order to the en'my fac'd. He with a thousand foot his horse sustain'd, Which noble stratagem the battle gain'd. Mounted upon a gallant steed that hour, He fought the Irish with unequal pow'r. The loud huzzas of both hosts rend the sky. Each side prepar'd to conquer or to die. The French came on with glittering sword in hand, But our quick firing made their horses stand. Maumont the French, Murray our horse led on.

Murray, like thunder, through their squadrons broke, A gallant Monsieur fell at every stroke.

Maumont did also with like terror ride
Thro' troops retreating round on every side.
Both squadrons fight with equal force and rage,
And in close combat mutually engage;
Till prostrate bodies covered all the shore,
For both reserves had fled the spot before.
Ours in the city their protection found,
Theirs was unable to maintain their ground.
For Luddle brave, an English buccaneer,
A thousand footmen marching in his rear,
Made the proud enemy soon disappear.
In this pursuit stout Captain Taaf was slain,
Brave Captain Cochran did that honour gain.

Lieutenant Carr, the Laird of Graddon's son,
In this affair great reputation won.
The strand thus clear'd, Murray and Maumont meet,
Who with dire threat'nings one another greet.
For they had often sought each other out,
But still were parted in the bloody rout.
They first discharged their pistols on the spot,
In which brave Murray's fiery steed was shot.
Yet the brave beast ne'er felt the deadly wound,
But pranc'd and wheel'd upon the bloody ground:
Redoubled blows they gave with sword in hand,
Which the strong armour scarcely could withstand.
At last their swords in several pieces flew,
And with their rapiers they the fight renew.
'Twas then Maumont began to falsify,

He wheel'd his horse, which then began to spurn, But noble Murray made a quick return, For under his raised arm his steel he thrust. Till at his neck the purple gore out burst. His fleeting soul with the free blood expir'd, And our great hero to the foot retir'd, Where they, the Irishmen, had soundly beat, And caused them all to make a quick retreat. Brave Major Blair the hottest fire sustain'd, And by great feats a reputation gain'd. Young Francis Crofton to the battle flew, And with his sword a multitude he slew. Noble, like light'ning, fell among their foot, Dunbar's red coats, too, put them to the rout. The valiant Cooke from Lisnagarvey fought, And conquer'd many who his ruin sought. Lieutenant Rankin hew'd the Irish down. And in that bloody battle gain'd renown. Tom Barr, a trooper, with one mighty blow, Cut off the head of an opposing foe. Two thousand slain the river side they fill'd, And many officers of note were kill'd. On our side some; brave Cornet Brown was slain, Mac Phetrix died upon the purple plain.

Lieutenant Mackay fell upon the spot,
M'Cleland's son was wounded with a shot.
The ancient father did the son revenge,
And with the foe full many a blow exchange.
The parents view'd their sons' exploits that day,
From the strong walls above the broad Ship-quay,
For near that place upon the shore they fought.

Then backward to the town
Our host return'd in triumph and renown.
Great was the spoil and plunder of that day,
For all return'd with some substantial prey.
One brought a pyebald horse, which Columbkill
Foretold, if taken at the Pennyburn-mill,
The Irish might expect no more success;
This fatal horse was taken in the chase."

On the twenty-second of this month the abdicated king sent a general officer from Charlemont to command some forces which he had ordered to march towards Carrickfergus to prevent the landing of the English there, in case their ships, which had sailed out of Lough Foyle, should attempt to do so; and being informed there was some new commotions of the Protestants in the county of Down, he sent a reinforcement to his troops there. On the twenty-third he arrived in Newry, and finding the disorders in the county of Down increase, sent back another troop of dragoons to his army, leaving no force to guard his person on his return to the metropolis. This day the Irish army planted two pieces of cannon in the lower end of Strong's orchard, about eighty perches distant from Londonderry, on the other side of the Foyle opposite Ship-quay street. These threw balls of about ten pounds weight each, and with them they played so incessantly on that street, penetrating the garrets and walls, that many persons were wounded by them, and it became unsafe to remain in the upper parts of any of the houses. The besieged threw up a blind, as they termed it, to preserve the inhabitants of this street, and returned the fire from their walls with such effect, as to kill Lieutenant-Colonel O'Neill, Lieutenant Fitzpatrick, two serjeants, several private soldiers, and two friars in their habits, to the great grief of the Irish, says Walker, for they were indignant beyond measure, that the blood of these holy men should be spilled by an heretical rabble, as they termed the defenders of Londonderry.

Monsieur Pusignian died this evening of the wounds which he received in the battle of the preceding Sunday, and King James, on receiving the news of his death, was much concerned at it, for this officer, as well as Maumont, was as much esteemed for obliging manners as he had been respected for courage and conduct. On the twenty-fourth, Captain Ash says, the enemy began to throw bombs into Londonderry, a practice which, in a short time, became too familiar with them. On the next day King James arrived in Drogheda, from which he proceeded, after one night's rest, to Dublin. Tyrconnel had not returned from visiting the country garrisons; the expected supply of arms had not arrived from Cork, Kinsale, or Waterford, and the Protestant artificers had not been very active during his absence in repairing the old muskets in the arsenal, or making the tools necessary for his engineers. He therefore renewed his orders on these heads, and taking all possible methods to obtain the necessary supply of cannon, small arms, and ammunition, resolved to form three camps on the expected surrender of Derry, one towards Scotland, to cover the embarkation of troops for that country, and others in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Lord Mount-Cashel was appointed Muster-Master of artillery, and the king resolved to send several pieces of cannon to Derry by sea; but this latter project was frustrated by the appearance of some English vessels in the channel. Tyrconnel returned to Dublin in a few days after James's arrival there, and reported that he had found so many efficient men among the Irish infantry, that he did not disband them in the proportion which he had resolved to do when he left town. Those whom he had disbanded had committed great atrocities wherever they went, so that it became necessary to restrain them by the appointment of provost-marshals in each of the provinces; but the king set them a bad example at the same time, by ordering the goods of all absent Protestants to be seized and confiscated.

On the twenty-fifth of April the besieging army placed their mortars again in Strong's orchard, and fired a few small bombs across the river, on the Ship-quay street of Derry. The greater part of these fell in the street, and one of them killed an old woman in a garret. The first that was discharged fell into a house where several officers were at dinner, and rolling over a bed that was in the room, did there no injury, but passed into a lower room, where it killed the landlord and broke a hole through the outer wall, through which the guests went out, as it had by the concussion choked up the doors of the house. In consequence of this, the ammunition was secured in the vaults under the cathedral church, in dry wells, and in the cellars of private houses. In the mean time Colonel Murray, with some cavalry and a strong body of foot, which he always supported by dragoons, sallied out of the town and drove the enemy from the trenches into which they had thrown themselves. Some of the foot had followed the retreating enemy too far, and a party of their horse suddenly forced them to fall back upon the main body, who, forming themselves in a line behind a ditch on the road side, fired with such effect upon the pursuers, as to throw them into great confusion, and oblige them to retreat. The Derry-men then pursued them to Pennyburn-mill, and pressed so hard upon them, that their dragoons, who themselves had just been beaten out of an old mill about a mile higher up on the same water, found it necessary to leave their horses behind them, and reinforce their distressed friends at Pennyburn. The Derry-men kept their enemy at

warm work in this place until the evening, and returned without much loss. A party of the besieged, which went out towards the close of the day to cover the retreat of those who were engaged at Pennyburn, were beaten back, but without loss, by a party of horse which had been despatched from the Irish camp, each of them carrying a foot-man behind him. Those who signalized themselves on this occasion with Colonel Murray, were, Major Bull and Captains Obrey, John-Kennedy, Archibald Saunderson, Michael Cunningham, William Beatty, and William Moore. The contest both at the old and new mill was very sharp, and lasted for a considerable time. Mackinzie says the loss on the Derry side was but two men killed and eight or ten wounded; but Captain Ash alleges that Cornet Brown and three others were killed; the loss on the enemy's side was not ascertained. In the Armagh manuscript this engagement is called the battle of Elah, and the author thus celebrates those who distinguished themselves in it:-

> "Against the weakest side our Gen'ral saw, Their greatest force the Irish army draw; Which to prevent with equal ardour he Sprung forth at morn to fight the enemy Near Elan in the parks. Murray came on, The Irishmen were led by Hamilton; Where they continued fighting till 'twas noon, When we were flanked by th' enemy's dragoon. Five hundred men our open flank secure, Led on by Taylor, Saunderson, and Moore. The enemy stood boldly to the fight, But Murray quickly put them all to flight. Berwick and Pontee each received a scar From valiant Murray and the brave Dunbar. Bold Major Bull did wonders in that fight, For he brought back the Irish on the right. Crofton and Bashford did much honour gain, By Captain Noble multitudes were slain. From Lisnaskea, Fermanagh's pride, he came, But now he's Major Noble of the same.

Cairnes in our centre, standing like a rock, Undauntedly repell'd each hostile shock; Like Spartan heroes firm together clos'd, He and his friends their enemies oppos'd. Lieutenant Lindsay, Lord Donrode's brave son, Fresh honour in this hot engagement won. Brave Captain Barrel from Urney, near Strabane, Gain'd the renown of an heroic man. Here Tillilagan, from renown'd Tyrone, To glory sent her gallant Saunderson. The valiant Moore of Augher, with great might, Cut all before him in this bloody fight. Lieutenant Cooke repuls'd the enemy, And forc'd their bravest warriors to fly. Lord Abercorn left both boots and horse, And fled without his cloak, with all his force. Then in a trice our foes we soundly beat, And to their camp compel them to retreat. We burned their stores in Elah without pity, And turn'd back to march into the city. When we went forth we carefully had sent Most of our horse, and of foot a regiment, To watch the camp by gallant Ramsay kept, Lest he our marching home should intercept. But Col'nel Parker, odious was his crime, Had them commanded off before that time; When Ramsay boldly, with his foot and horse, Came quickly up to intercept our course. This great surprise did all our spirits damp, We fear'd our men were slain round Ramsay's camp. But Col'nel Murray and brave Aubery, Oppos'd the foe and forc'd them back to fly, Till all our heroes, cover'd with renown, From this brisk fight got safely into town. Parker and Hamill to our aid both run, With Wigton pushing on a loaded gun; But their assistance came to us too late, For Ramsay then had forced us to retreat. Parker considered it but policy, To fly that evening to the enemy;

His Coleraine regiment brave Lance obtain'd, And in our service lasting glory gain'd."

Mackinzie states, in corroboration of the foregoing statement of Parker's treachery, that this officer was sent out with a rear guard of infantry, to cover the retreat of those who had sallied out with Murray this day, and that at the moment when the citizens from the walls saw a body of the enemy advance to intercept their return, he appeared so slow and negligent in the discharge of his important duty, as to expose the returning victors to imminent danger. He was threatened with a court martial for this misconduct, upon which he left the city in the night and deserted to the enemy.

It was not without great address and considerable difficulty, even under their present circumstances, that the harmony necessary for the preservation of all descriptions of Protestants was preserved among the members of the Established Church and the various Dissenters at this time in Londonderry. The episcopal clergy had suffered heavily from the Presbyterians in Scotland, the persecution there was nearly at its height at this time, and even William, who established Presbyterianism on the ruins of their church, afterwards found it necessary to open an inlet and shelter for some of them, by translating Dr. Alexander Cairncross from the Archbishopric of Glasgow to the See of Raphoe, in the neighbourhood of Londonderry.

In the two preceding reigns Lord Dundee, Captain Creighton, and others, had made very severe retaliations on the Covenanters, so that both parties were under strong and unhappy temptations to dislike each other, when they found it necessary at this time to unite for their common preservation. This feeling was nearly brought into fatal operation on one or two occasions during the earlier part of the siege. On one of these, a Mr. Hewson stepped forward, and declared that no man was worthy to fight for the Protestant religion who would not take

the solemn league and covenant; and on another, the conformists and non-conformists were drawn up in the Diamond to fight for the cathedral church. Hewson's insane proposal, however, was treated with merited neglect, and the dispute about the cathedral was soon settled by the Conformists, who were heretofore in undisturbed possession of it, consenting that the others should have the use of it for one half of the Lord's day, and also on every Thursday during the siege. The Nonconformists had also meetings in different parts of the city, and all the congregations in the church and out of it, made very considerable contributions after divine service for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers, of whom the greatest care was taken. The clergy and ministers of all denominations were indeed equally careful of their people, exhibiting an example of moderation and kindness towards each other, worthy of imitation at all times, but indispensable to their common safety on this trying occasion. They enjoined their respective congregations to forget their distinctions, and join as one man in defence of the PROTESTANT RELIGION, reminding them of their perilous situation: they pointed to the water which enclosed them on the one side, and to the camp and batteries of twenty thousand enemies surrounding them in every other direction. They then betook themselves to their several devotions, recommending their sacred cause to the care of the Almighty Gop.

Walker's reflections on the nineteenth of this eventful month are so characteristic of the circumstances of the city at the time, and so honourable to himself as a divine and a writer, that they cannot be omitted here. "It did," says he, "beget amongst us some disorder and confusion, when we looked about us and saw what we were doing; our enemies all about us, and our friends running away from us; a garrison we had, composed of a number of poor people, frightened from their own homes, and seemingly more fit to hide themselves than to

face an enemy. When we considered that we had no persons of experience in war amongst us, and those very persons that were sent to assist us, had so little confidence in the place, that they no sooner saw it than they thought fit to leave it; that we had but few horse to sally out with, and no forage; no engineers to instruct us in our works, no fire-works, not as much as a hand-grenade to annoy the enemy; not a gun well mounted in the whole town; that we had so many mouths to feed, and not above ten days' provisions for them in the opinion of our former governors; that every day several left us and gave constant intelligence to the enemy; that they had so many opportunities to divide us, and so often endeavoured to do it, and to betray the governors; that they were so numerous, so powerful, and so well appointed an army, that in all human probability we could not think ourselves in less danger than the Israelites at the Red Sea. When we considered all this, it was obvious enough what a dangerous undertaking we had ventured upon; but the resolution and courage of our people, and the necessity we were under, and the great confidence and dependence among us on God Almighty, that he would take care of us and preserve us, made us overlook all those difficulties. And GoD was pleased to make us the happy instruments of preserving this place, and to HIM we give the glory; and no one need go about to undervalue or lessen those he was pleased to choose for so great a work; we do allow ourselves to be as unfit as they can make us, and that God has only glorified HIMSELF in working so great a wonder with his own right hand and his holy arm, getting to himself the victory."

The governors, Baker and Walker, now examined the stores, continuing the old keepers of them in their places for some time, until on their contents being much diminished they were all put into one house, which was carefully kept by Mr. John Harvey and his brother Samuel, during the whole time

of the siege. Persons were also appointed to search all cellars and private stores, from which they brought to the common stock a very considerable addition, which had been brought into the city by private gentlemen and others who had taken refuge in it.

On this twenty-fifth of April, the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, with Mr. Anthony Dobbin, a justice of the peace, resident in the neighbourhood of Derry, went to the Irish camp at the hour of nine or ten o'clock in the morning. At that time a party of the besieged had sallied from the city, and were skirmishing with some part of the besieging army. These gentlemen had an errand from Enniskillen to General Hamilton, who being engaged with the troops that were fighting, did not return for a considerable time. While they waited for him, they heard several shots going off within a short distance behind them, and inquiring the cause, were told by a soldier that there was good sport, for the men had got hold of an English or Scotch witch, who had attempted to destroy their horses by enchantment, and had been caught in the act of gathering their dung for that purpose. Mr. Hamilton entreated some of the Irish officers with whom he was acquainted to save the unfortunate woman's life. Mr. Dobbin and he then went with them towards the place from which the noise of the firing came, and as they got within twenty or thirty yards of it, they saw a woman at least seventy years of age, sitting with her breast laid bare, and before they had time to interfere for her protection, one of the soldiers came up to her, held the muzzle of his musket close to her breast, and shot her dead. Being bad marksmen, they had been firing at her from some little distance, and none of their former shots had the desired effect, though she was wounded in several places. An army composed of such men as this, could not prove ultimately successful over an intelligent and humane enemy, let their numerical superiority be ever so great, and so the event of this summer's

campaign fully proved. It appeared, on inquiry, that this poor victim of superstition and cruelty, who lived near Derry, had been robbed of her substance, and hearing that the Irish camp was full of provisions, and that the officers and soldiers were very civil to all who went to them, she had gone there that morning to beg a little food among the tents, and a man passing by her with a load of oatmeal thrown across his horse, the sack burst and some of its contents falling upon horse dung, after the man had gathered up as much as he thought fit, the wretched woman went forward and was taking the dung out of the dirty meal that remained on the road, when a fellow who saw her do so called out that she was a witch gathering their horse dung that the Derry-men might get the better of them; upon this a crowd gathered about her and used her in the cruel manner above related. It is a very common opinion among the Irish, that the excrements of any animal being burned, a mortal dysentery will ensue to the body from which they have been discharged; and in this way did the superstitious savage imagine that a decrepid old woman could dismount a regiment of cavalry, and turn the fate of a battle.

On the night of the twenty-sixth the bombs played hotly on the city, with little intermission, from the setting of the sun until morning. This night was one of intense suffering; terror prevailed in all directions, except in the hearts of the intrepid heroes under arms. The shrieks of women and children formed a terrific contrast with the thunder of the artillery, and the crash of walls and houses thrown down by the shells. One of the victims of this night's cannonade was Mrs. Susannah Holding, a gentlewoman aged eighty years, who was killed in Mr. Long's house, where many other persons were wounded.

About the twenty-seventh Captain Darcy, who had been brought from Scotland by Captain James Hamilton, and left

prisoner in Derry on a charge of having deserted King William's service in England, got a pass from the Governor, and left the city with his horse and arms. He had bought some horses from Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, which were said not to have belonged to that gentleman, who was tried for this and other misdemeanors, and being found guilty of being no friend to the garrison, was committed to prison, where he was kept during the remainder of the siege. Captain Monro succeeded to the command of his regiment. That of Coleraine, from which Parker had deserted, was given to Captain Lance.

The regiments were now regulated as they remained during the siege; they were seven in number, six of infantry and one of cavalry. Mitchelburn's consisted of seventeen companies; Walker's of fourteen; Monro's and Crofton's of twelve each; Lance's of thirteen, and Hammel's of fifteen. Colonel Murray's regiment of horse consisted of eight troops. Besides these regimented men, there were several volunteers in the city who did good service, as Captains Joseph Johnston, William Crooke, Mr. David Kennedy, and many others, who were frequently out upon service. Crooke's leg was broke by a piece of a bomb, which caused his death.

On the twenty-eighth the besieged sallied out and killed several of the enemy at Pennyburn-mill, but were forced by a body of horse to retreat with the loss of two men killed, and eight or ten wounded. Admiral Herbert being at this time on the south coast of Ireland, discovered the French fleet on the twenty-ninth of this month, and the next day received intelligence of their having gone to Baltimore, being in number forty sail; but on pursuing them, the scouts discovered that they had got into Bantry Bay. The English admiral lay off the bay all night, and next morning stood in, when he found the enemy at anchor. They soon, however, got under sail, and bore down upon him in a line composed of twenty-eight men of war and five fire ships. When they came within musket shot of

the Defence, which led the van, the French admiral put out the signal of battle, which was begun by their firing their great and small shot at the English ships as they came into the line. After several ineffectual attempts to engage the enemy closer, Admiral Herbert finding his fleet in a disadvantageous situa-tion, put off to sea, as well to get his ships in a line as to gain the wind of the enemy; but he found them so cautious in bearing down, that he could not get an opportunity to accomplish his purpose, and so continued battering upon a stretch till five o'clock in the afternoon, when the French admiral stood into the bay. Admiral Herbert's ship and some others being severely disabled in their rigging, could not follow them, but continued for a short time after before the bay, and gave the enemy a shot at parting. In this action, which the French reckoned a victory, Captain George Aylmer, of the Portland, with one Lieutenant and ninety-four seamen were killed, the number of the wounded amounted to two hundred and fifty. Admiral Herbert, however, sustained no other loss, and got safe with his fleet into Plymouth a week afterwards. It seems unaccountable that it did not occur to the French admiral, now that the coast was clear for him, to bring his fleet round to Lough-Swilly or Lough-Foyle, rather than expose the arms, ammunition, and military stores it contained, to the delay and the dangers of a land-carriage from Cork to Londonderry, by wretched roads and many hostile tracts of country. James's counsels appeared to have been such as to insure his final defeat; his intelligence was usually false or exaggerated, and the measures he adopted frequently calculated to disgust even his friends. His subserviency to the French ambassador was apparent, and a report went forth at this time very much to his prejudice, that he had agreed to put Ireland into the hands of Louis, to become a province of France, in return for the assistance given him to recover the rest of his dominions.

On the last day of April the street on the Ship-quay side of

the Diamond of Londonderry was barricaded, between Cunningham's and Boyd's corners, with timber, stones, and rubbish, to secure the market-house from the enemy's cannon; and at the same time a shot from one of the bastions killed the chief gunner of the Irish army, and broke one of his pieces of cannon. About this time Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd, by order of the Governor of Enniskillen, took a party of horse and foot from that town towards Omagh, where the Irish had a garrison. This post was too strong to warrant his making any attempt against it, but he drove all the cattle in the neighbourhood of it before him to Augher, where the enemy had another garrison in the castle, which they abandoned before he had arrived at it. To prevent their repossessing themselves of this strong hold, on his departure he burned it to the ground, and defaced the fortifications about it. He then proceeded into the county of Monaghan, and returned to Enniskillen with a very great prey of cows and sheep, which proved a most seasonable relief to the poor people in and about that town; for on the return of that party a good milch cow might have been bought from the soldiers for half a crown, and a dry cow or an ox cheaper. Towards the end of this month some choice troops of horse and companies of foot reinforced the Enniskilleners from Ballyshannon. They had formed part of Lord Kingston's troops, and had marched with him from Sligo, when, by Lundy's orders, that nobleman led his army into the county of Donegal. The Governor of Enniskillen then erected a fort on the common hill near the stone-bridge, at his own expense, and it afterwards proved to be a great strength and protection to the town.

A circumstance is mentioned in the poem found at Armagh, respecting the father of Colonel Murray, which, "mutatis mutandis," may be related with propriety in a work which aims at giving a vivid representation of the varied scenes of this interesting period of Irish history:—

"General Hamilton takes Colonel Murray's aged father prisoner, and sends him to move his son to quit the town.

" Now Hamilton had got intelligence That Murray's father liv'd not far from hence, Aged above eighty years, for him he sent, . And brought the old man captive to his tent. Pray, said the sage, your business with me tell? Your son, said he, sir, ventures to rebel Against his king. He holds that city out, Him you may counsel better without doubt. On you tall gibbet reaching to the sky, Your bones shall hang if he does not comply, And yield the town-go tell him so, or die; And here you must your sacred honour pawn, To bring the answer e'er to-morrow's dawn. Old Murray answers, he will not disown His due allegiance to King William's throne; But, as I must obey you, I will try If with such cruel terms he will comply: I found my son, sir, from his early youth A paragon of steadiness and truth; A scion worthy of his ancient line, Respecting law both human and divine, Form'd, mind and body, for some great design. In haste the vet'ran's guarded to the town, And meets his son then cover'd with renown. As on the street the youthful hero stood, His steel still reeking with the Frenchman's blood. Son, said the sire, this Bible in my hand Must give due sanction to my last command; Swear now, I charge you, that in town or field To James's power you will never yield; That for our faith you'll spend your latest breath, And choose with me sweet liberty or death. Father, says Murray, as he dropp'd a tear, That voice I love so dearly wounds my ear, Imputing treachery or slavish fear. The deeds I do, I cannot stoop to tell, But all my gallant friends here know me well;

Why then through dangers have you made such speed, To give me counsel which I do not need? Adam, said he, I never could have meant Such imputation, but I have been sent By Hamilton, to tell you I must die, Unless with his commands you now comply, Give up the town or from its ramparts fly. But now, my long lov'd son, my darling child, Who on my knee so oft have sweetly smil'd, Cheering a father's and a mother's heart, I've made my last request, and I depart; Hamilcar's task was mine, and now I go To meet, like Regulus, an angry foe; He may command my instant execution, But Murray's blood will seal the revolution. In such a case I could die ten times o'er, And count it gain to bleed at eighty-four. Stay, said a voice, stay Murray with your son, His race of glory is but just begun; 'Maumont's career arrested by his steel, His sword's sharp edge this Hamilton shall feel. Ill fare the man whose cunning could engage In such a task your venerable age. No, no, said he, not thus is glory won, My word is pledg'd, a soldier's course I run, "Take honour from me and my life is done." Then peals of thund'ring cannon rend the air, And warlike trumpets from the city bear Defiance to the foe's detested arts, As for the camp the veteran departs. The gallant Hamilton forgives the fraud, If such it was and ventures to applaud Without reserve, a more than Spartan deed, Which well became the Murrays of the Tweed; From Philiphaugh this hero's fathers came, A line long known in rolls of Scottish fame. No longer forc'd through hostile bands to roam, A guard of honour guides the old man home; Where he was suffer'd undisturb'd to dwell, Though by his son the Irish army fell."

The reader will, no doubt, forgive the liberty here taken with the coarse original of the foregoing lines, which have been rendered into intelligible language, as the tales of Chaucer and satires of Dr. Donne have been translated by Pope.

On the first day of May a cannon ball fell among a company of foot who were marching up Ship-quay street, and wounded two men. A shell also fell where Colonel Mitchelburn's men were exercising in the Bogside, and killed one man, who remained on his feet till it burst. The rest threw themselves down on the ground, by which means they escaped undurt.

On the second of this month the Irish garrison in Omagh sent two men into the parish of Kilskerry, within five miles of Enniskillen, who, in the night, stole away about twenty or thirty cows. In the morning the owners, missing their cows, and seeing their track on the road towards Omagh, sent some of their neighbours in quest of them. Accordingly, eight of them who undertook this task, overtook the cattle within a few miles of Omagh; but the thieves, unluckily escaping, fled into the garrison and gave the alarm there. Before the Kilskerry men had got half way on their return home, they were overtaken by twenty-four well mounted dragoons from Omagh; the poor men, being eight in number, had but bad horses and few arms. Three of them, on the approach of the dragoons, left their horses, and escaped into a bog; the other five, thinking they need fear no injury for having taken back their own cattle, submitted, and had quarter given to them. The dragoons, leaving a guard with the five prisoners, followed the other three into the bog, but being unable to overtake them, returned back to those they had left on the road, and after carrying them a little way back with them, barbarously murdered them all, cutting them so in the face with their swords, that their friends scarce knew one of them when they found

them. This was the usual quarter given by the Irish soldiers to the prisoners who submitted to them, which was the principal cause of the obstinate defence both of Londonderry and Enniskillen. Bellew, the Governor of Omagh, sent an express, on the morning after this cruel murder, to General Hamilton, before Derry, acquainting him that a party of his garrison had killed above one hundred of the Enniskilleners, calling every man twenty; which news, in a dearth of better, went through the whole of the Irish camp, and caused great joy there. Richard Burton says, in his History of the Kingdom of Ireland (page 80), that some of Galmoy's dragoons, in the course of this unsuccessful campaign against the Protestants, caused two gentlemen, who had taken arms under Colonel Saunderson, to be hanged on a sign-post at Belnahatty, and their heads being cut off, the horrid scene of Belturbet was a second time exhibited by their kicking the heads about the streets like foot-balls.

About the beginning of this month Colonel Mitchelburn was suspected by Governor Baker and the garrison. The latter, after a personal scuffle with him, confined him to his chamber, and he continued for some time a prisoner, but he never was tried by a council of war. At this time Baker, fearing lest some treacherous persons within the city should work mines in the cellars near the walls, took with him an active and zealous defender of the city, Mr. William Macky, and searched all the under-ground apartments adjoining to the walls, under pretence of examining the provisions, but they found nothing to justify their apprehensions. On the second of this month, fourteen or fifteen cannon-shots were fired against the city, but none of them did any damage. Three of them struck the market-house, and one against the town-clock; they knocked down some slates and rubbish, but did no farther injury.

On the third there were nine pieces of cannon discharged against the city in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon, by

which there were only two men wounded; one lost a leg and another an arm. During the night of this day some of the enemy came to the Bog-side and fired at the sentinels on the wall, which the guard at Butchersgate returned with interest, but no harm was done on either side. Major Fitzsimmons's company were stationed on that part of the wall this night. On the fourth of May, Captain Folliot, Governor of Ballyshannon, sent an express to Enniskillen, stating that a considerable body of men had arrived there from Connaught, to besiege that place. He sent the summons he had got, and prayed for speedy relief, which was sent to him immediately afterwards.

The enemy's camp was now every day moving nearer to the city of Londonderry, and few days passed without vigorous sallies from the gates. The parties who went out were commanded by one or more of the following distinguished officers: Col. Murray, Captains Noble, Dunbar, Adams, Wilson, Hamilton, Beatty, Saundersons sen. and jun., Shaw, Wright, M'Cormick, Bashford, and Cunningham. Great services were also rendered to the city by Major Alexander Stewart, Major John Dobbins, and Lieuts. Dunlop and Maghlin. Some of these went out with small parties of gentlemen volunteers, and sometimes of private soldiers, and they seldom returned without doing execution on the enemy, or bringing in some prey. Captain Noble and others found several letters in the pockets of the slain, giving some intelligence, particularly respecting the surrender of Culmore. It appeared by them that Lundy, as he passed, sent a message to the garrison that Londonderry had surrendered; they had but little ammunition at the time, and had lost eight of their guns, which captain Jemmet, by order of the false Governor, had sent into the city, and this, it was stated, inclined them to surrender.

In the night of the fifth the besiegers drew a trench across the Wind-mill hill, from the beg to the river, and there began to erect a battery for the purpose of annoying the town walls, which were much too strong for the guns against them. The Derry-men, with equal spirit and good humour, advised the men who worked in this trench and battery, to save themselves the trouble, labour, and expense, of such an undertaking, offering to open a wider passage for them through the gates than their cannon could make in the walls, at any time they should feel disposed to try their fortune in the city. A little after midnight, provoked perhaps by those taunts, Brigadier-General Ramsay came to the wind-mill, and dislodging the out-guards there possessed himself of the place, and before sun-rise had the works they had begun in the evening completed to the water side. The guard which had been driven from the windmill retired to the half-moon on the outside of the Bishop'sgate, and those who had driven them in intrenched themselves on the ground they had gained, by making a strong double ditch across the high road near Robert Harvey's house. This ditch was levelled upon fifteen of their dead bodies next day.

At an early hour of Monday the sixth of May, the besieged fearing that the battery erected near the wind-mill might injure that part of the town nearest to it, resolved to demolish it, and at the same moment a great number of the enemy coming near the town wall, fired at the guards, which alarmed the garrison. Walker, apprehensive that an escalade, which had often been threatened, was now about to be attempted, instantly drew out a detachment of ten men from each company, and after putting them into the best order their impatience allowed, sallied out of the Ferryquay-gate at their head, in the deepest silence, at the hour of four o'clock in the morning. Mackinzie assigns this command to Baker, but Ash, more correctly it is probable than either, says that the sally was commanded by both of the Governors, whose efforts on that occasion had been as diligent as they proved successful. At the moment when one body of the citizens had proceeded out at Ferryquay-

gate, another burst forth from the Bishop's-gate, and joining their force advanced impetuously on the enemy. Some of them drove the Irish dragoons from the hedges, while others took possession of their trenches. The Derry-men pursued the retiring foe so closely, that it soon came to what has been termed club musket. The dragoons and infantry took flight in great confusion. Ramsay in vain endeavouring to rally them, was killed upon the spot, with many other officers; the pursuit was continued beyond all the ditches to the top of the hill. The ground contended for was gained by the victors, with four or five stand of colours, several drums, fire-arms, spades, shovels, and pickaxes, with some ammunition and the plunder of the dead. The enemy lost Brigadier-General Ramsay, Captains Fleming, Fox and Barnwell, with Lieutenants Kelly and Welsh, and Ensigns Barnwell and Kadell killed. The prisoners were Lord Netterville, Sir Garret Aylmer, Lieut. Colonel Talbot, Lieutenant and Adjutant Newcomen. Colonel Gordon O'Neill was wounded in the thigh. Lord Netterville and Sir Garret Aylmer were badly wounded; they were treated with kindness and the respect due to their rank, being confined in a private house, that of Mr. Thomas Moore, and a guard placed over them. The Irish lost in this rout, as it may be termed, about two hundred men killed, many of them shot in the face, forehead and breast, over their own lines, as they were firing with little or no effect, upon their more steady and skilful opponents. Walker says that no less than five hundred of them were wounded, three hundred of whom died afterwards of their wounds. On the Derry side, some few were wounded, and but three or four privates killed. Towards the end of the skirmish some of the garrison went out and posted themselves judiciously between the wind-mill and the strand, fearing the Irish, who were in great numbers on the top of the hill above the river side, should rally again and get between the pursuers and the city. Several of these

men lined the ditches very near the enemy, to prevent them from coming down, but they showed no disposition to do so. The whole affair was over at noon, and in the evening the Governors sent a drum to General Hamilton, desiring he would bury his dead. This was done the next day in a very negligent manner, the soldiers who were sent to perform this duty scarcely covering the bodies with earth. General Ramsay was interred at the Long-tower, much lamented by all who knew him. He was reckoned the most efficient officer in the Irish army, with the exception of General Hamilton. In the course of this day Quartermaster Murdagh was killed by a shot on the forehead at the church bastion.

The author of the poem found at Armagh thus describes this battle of Wind-mill Hill:—

" Now gallant Ramsay, in a strong array Entrench'd five thousand men by break of day On Wind-mill Hill, and threaten'd instant fate To all who dared to open Bishop's-gate. To check this force, our Governors command, And from the town lead forth a gallant band. Dunbar and Bashford round by the steep way, Which from the city leads to Ferry-quay, Rush to the trenches, and the Irish slay. Whilst Wilson, Fleming, Gunter, and brave Moore, Out-flank their foe-men and the day secure. Forbes like thunder towards the trenches flew, And with his sword a crowd of foe-men slew. In that attack was valiant Ramsay slain, Of full five thousand scarcely half remain. Dobbin as Major some bold heroes led, Before whose swords the frighted Irish fled. From trench to trench did Pogue undaunted fly, And with his sword cut down the enemy. Lord Netterville a prisoner was made, Proud Talbot's capture Hamilton dismay'd, Sir Garret Aylmer, with a bleeding wound, -Unable to resist or run was found.

At length when wearied were the gallant foot, Our horsemen came and made a hot pursuit; To Ballymagrorty we the foe pursue, And all along the brow their forces slew. Murdagh, our trusty Quartermaster's slain, Who in all actions did great honour gain; Ready to go on each forlorn command, Full six or seven men he could withstand. And though he's gone his fame shall never die, While Derry's tale is told in poetry. Their magazine we forc'd them to destroy, They blew it up, we heard the sound with joy. When rich in spoil, and cover'd with renown, We march triumphant to our happy town. King William's welcome men and maidens sing, Shouts rend the clouds, and joy-bells sweetly ring."

The historical drama also gives an interesting account of this day's battle, stating the Irish forces defeated to have been Sir Maurice Eustace's fusileers, with the regiments of foot commanded by Colonels Butler and O'Neill, supported by Lord Galmoy's horse.

SCENE CHANGES TO THE FRENCH CAMP.

Enter Hamilton, Sheldon and Waucop.

"You talked of trenches; what signified trenches when the enemy flanked us? Indeed had we trenches on the flanks that would have been something; for when the rebels came upon us with two bodies of men, and charged our right and left, we were then obliged to quit our trenches, and draw into a body; we lay open then to their guns from the walls, which made lanes through our men.

Enter an Officer.

Officer.—"The fight seems dubious; great opposition upon both sides.

Enter another Officer.

Officer.—"Our men fall extremely fast; what the rebels want in skill they have in courage.

Enter a third Officer.

Officer.—"Our men give ground, and unless you appear among them, the victory will fall to the rebel side.

Hamilton .- "That shall not be wanting.

SCENE CHANGES TO LONDONDERRY.

Enter Governor Baker, Colonel Campbell, and the Town Major.

Baker .- "The day is ours, the enemy is fled.

Campbell.—"Murray is in hot pursuit with his cavalry, but where is Mitchelburn?

Town Major.—"He will be here presently, he only staid to give Murray the necessary orders, how far he should pursue the enemy.

Enter MITCHELBURN and WALKER.

Mitchelburn.—"I think between our right and left we peppered them off.

Baker.—"They will hardly come to the Wind-mill these two days again.

Mitchelburn.—"That regiment of Sir Maurice Eustace's, with their caps, stood stiffly to their business; but when they saw me lead up my last reserve of five hundred men, they took to their heels. How like stags they bounded over the ditches, and our men like true bred beagles scoured after them in full cry.

A great shout within.

"Make room for my Lord Netterville.

[His Lordship enters, two Soldiers supporting him; three of his fingers cut off, and a wound in his face; he appears a lusty fat man; they set him down in a chair.] Baker .- "Who, Sir, are you?

Netterville.- "The unfortunate Lord Netterville.

Baker.—"What! My Lord Netterville?

Netterville.—"So they call me; I am three score and ten, and yet must turn soldier in my old age; my spirits faint, pray let me lie down.

Walker.—"Get a surgeon immediately, his Lordship is fainting; bring a glass of sack quickly.—[Sack brought.]

Baker .- " My service to your Lordship.

Netterville.—"I thank you, Sir.—[He takes the wine.] Pray do me the favour to let me lie down somewhere.

Baker.—"Your Lordship shall have a good room, an aired bed, and excellent quarters.—[Exit Lord Netterville and his attendants.]

[Enter Serjeants, bringing in Colonel Talbot on a handbarrow, covered with blood. After him Sir Garret Aylmer is brought in by the Soldiers and laid on the stage; Talbot is carried off.]

Baker .- " Pray who is that on the hand-barrow?

Walker.—"It is Colonel Talbot, a near relation to Tyrconnel; he has been usually called wicked Will Talbot.

Baker.—"He was blessed Will, that the soldiers did not knock him on the head; I wish we had his cousin Tyrconnel in his room.

Town Major.—"As I and some others were viewing the bodies, we saw that of Brigadier-General Ramsay among them, the commander of the grand attack. We found Hamilton's order in his pocket-book; the word was 'NO QUARTER!'

Baker.—"Let a parley be beat, that they may come and bury their dead.—[Exit Town Major.]

SCENE CHANGES TO THE IRISH CAMP.

Enter Hamilton, Dorrington and Sheldon.

Hamilton.—" 'Tis yet uncertain how many principal offi-

cers are lost in this unfortunate enterprise, neither is it known whether the rebels gave quarter or not.

Dorrington.—"It is judged by all that our loss is very considerable.

Sheldon.—"It would make one's heart bleed to see how many cart-loads of wounded are going off to St. Johnstown.

Enter an Officer.

Officer.—"Sad news! Sad news! Brigadier-General Ramsay is killed.

Hamilton.—"It grieves my heart! Our great Maumont at Pennyburn-mill, and Ramsay at the Wind-mill. Indeed, a great loss!

[Enter an Express from Dublin to General Hamilton, which he reads.]

"Sir,—The king is much dissatisfied with your slow proceedings, the great defeat you have met with, and the loss of so many considerable men. Marshal Rosen is marching to besiege Enniskillen with ten thousand men, and then will advance to join you. His Majesty is impatient till the town of Londonderry is reduced; it stops all his measures, and utterly ruins his cause. The eight hundred men sent to Lord Dundee are safely arrived in the Highlands of Scotland-Edinburgh Castle is stoutly defended by the Duke of Gordon.—I am well.

MELFORT.

Hamilton.—"Famine and plague light upon this perverse town of Derry! The holders of it persist and glory in their wickedness, pride and rebellion. They are even building two privateers, which I fear will be launched in two or three days, which will harass and fatigue our men, especially those on the river side. I have nothing to say in answer to this express, but that there are fifty or sixty ships discovered at sea making for this harbour, which no question, is for the relief of the rebels."

On the night of the defeat of the Irish at Wind-mill hill, the Governor of Enniskillen sent to all the garrisons under his command, ordering them to send him speedily all the armed men they could spare; and the next day, May the seventh, he sent Colonel Lloyd with about twelve companies of infantry and some troops of horse towards Ballyshannon. They met the enemy's horse near Belleck, a village three miles nearer to Enniskillen than Ballyshannon, where they soon put them to the rout, killing about one hundred and twenty of them, and taking about half that number prisoners. All the Irish infantry fled towards Sligo and escaped, except a few who were taken in the Fish Island, near Ballyshannon, with their Captain, one M'Donagh, a counsellor at law, commonly known by the name of blind M'Donagh. The victors got two small pieces of cannon, several serviceable horses and some good arms. Thus was Ballyshannon relieved by the Enniskilleners, whose first time it was to encounter the enemy in the field with horse and foot. Their success in the beginning of such undertakings, encouraged them very much, and they returned to their quarters without losing one man. Immediately after this an express was sent to them from Colonel Sarsfield, proposing an exchange of some prisoners which the Irish had at Galway and Ballinrobe, for those who had been taken at Ballyshannon. The Governor, recollecting how Lord Galmoy had behaved on a similar occasion, at Belturbet, desired Sarsfield to send him the names of the prisoners he would exchange for those of Enniskillen. Sarsfield delayed sending an answer for a month, and in the meantime, he ordered all the Protestants in the province of Connaught, notwithstanding the protection they had got from him and other officers, to be put into the gaol of Sligo; and then he sent their names to the Governor of Enniskillen, pretending that Sir Thomas Southwell and some other prisoners in Galway, were to be sent to England, in exchange for some Irish prisoners kept there.

The Governor, suspecting fraud, declined to make the exchange; upon which Sarsfield gave very harsh treatment to those he had in prison, scarcely allowing them as much food as would keep them from starving. He made them send some of their wives with petitions to Enniskillen, stating their miseries, and thus succeeded in the deceit he practised upon a generous and humane enemy. All those who were sent in exchange had been protected persons, not taken in arms, and therefore could not be deemed proper subjects of exchange for men taken in battle. It was, in fact, the experience of such faithless dealing and cruel usage of individuals, after promise of quarter, that some of the Enniskilleners were less merciful to the Irish in battle than they would have been to a civilized enemy, and for this reason they enjoyed an incredible proportion of quiet during this eventful campaign; being a terror to their brutalized adversaries, few of whom attempted to expose themselves to the hazard of an attack, without great probability of success.

While James's cause was going to ruin in Ulster, where he ought to have been at the head of his army, he assembled his pretended Parliament in Dublin, to repeal the Act of Settlement and outlaw the Protestants. It was in vain that the purchasers of property under the abovementioned act, remonstrated against the repeal of it; many of these, particularly in the province of Connaught, were members of the Church of Rome, who, by such a measure, would be turned out of their estates and possessions, and be reduced to that state of poverty from which they had risen, under the mild sway of a Protestant government. His acts in this, as well as in many other respects, were little less injurious to those of his own religion than any other description of the people. The trade of the kingdom had been ruined by his government, and now, under the influence of the French ambassador, who controlled all his actions, and turned them to the advantage of his master, he

was endeavouring to find Spanish and Dutch vessels for the transporting of wool, hides, and other raw materials of the country, to France, from whence they were to be sent back manufactured, to the great advantage of foreign artisans, and to the impoverishment of the country which produced them. All preferments in James's army were now given to Frenchmen, to the utter discontent and indignation of his Irish adherents, who began to show, in the new Parliament, a disposition to take at least as much care of their own interest as that of the unfortunate king, whose difficulties and embarrassments began to multiply rapidly around him. He was fed by false reports of the surrender of Derry, and the defeat of a great body of Protestant rebels in the county of Down; and the exaggerated report of the victory over the English fleet at Bantry Bay, is recorded in terms of great asperity in the account of his life, which M'Pherson has published, as written by himself. "The king," says he, "received the welcome news of the arrival of the French fleet in the bay of Bantry, and of the fight they had with the English, who were beaten and put to flight with as much ignominy as they had, with insolence and disrespect of the law of nations, attacked them. This arrival of the fleet, which brought a supply of officers, arms, and money, filled the court with general satisfaction." While this paradise of fools were exulting in contemplation of their imaginary victories, and studiously concealing the disastrous accounts which they every day received from the province of Ulster, the Protestants in Londonderry continued to maintain that city with a degree of success which surpassed their utmost expectations. Owing to a damp cast upon the enemy by their loss at the Wind-mill hill, which, by the way, was diminished from two hundred, to thirty men, in the false account of it which was sent to the unfortunate James, and also for want of cavalry among the besieged, some weeks of this month produced little more than skirmishes, in which Captain

Noble and many others continued to distinguish themselves. When they saw the enemy make an approach towards the city, they would run out with ten or twelve men and skirmish a while with them. When the besieged, who watched them closely from the walls, saw them too closely engaged, or in danger of being overpowered, they rushed out in great force to their relief, and always came off with great execution on the enemy, and with very little loss to themselves. On one of these occasions, however, Lieutenant Douglass was taken prisoner and murdered, after quarter had been promised to him. The day after the opening of James's Parliament, Lord Melfort, his Secretary, wrote to Lord Walgrave, informing him that all Ireland, except the obstinate city of Londonderry, had been brought into subjection.

At this time the two Captains Close left the city and took protections, as also did the Rev. John Brisben, a clergyman of the Established Church, mentioned by Mackinzie, but not by Walker or Ash. The clergymen who, according to Walker, staid with him in the city during the siege, were—

The Rev. Michael Clenaghan, Minister of Londonderry.

Seth. Whittel, Rector of Bellaghy.

James Watmough, of Arigal.

John Rowan, of Balteagh.

Richard Crowther, Curate of Cumber.

Thomas Semple, Curate of Donaghmore, near Cladyford.

Robert Morgan, Curate of Cappag, of the diocese of Derry.

Thomas Jenny, Prebendary of Mullaghbrack.

John Campbell, of Segoe.

Moses Davies, of Stewartstown or Donaghendric.

Andrew Robinson, of -

Barth. Black, Curate of Aghanloo.

Ellingsworth, Newry, of the diocese of Armagh.

John Knox, Minister of Glasslough.

Johnston, of

The Rev. —— Christy, Curate of Monaghan, of the diocese of Clogher.

William Cunningham, of Killishandra, of the diocese of Kilmore.

Five of these, viz. Whittel, Watmough, Rowan, Crowther, and Ellingsworth, died during the siege. Mackinzie has left a list of the Non-Conforming Ministers, of which the following is a transcript:—

"Messrs. Thomas Boyd, of Aghadowy; William Crooks, of Ballykelly; John Rowat, of Lifford; John Mackinzie, of Derrioran; John Hamilton, of Donaghedy; Robert Wilson, of Strabane; David Browne, of Urney; William Gilchrist, of Kilrea."

Of these the four last died during the siege.

On the eleventh of May upwards of a thousand of the garrison went, at an early hour, from the Wind-mill to Pennyburn, with the expectation of finding the enemy in their tents, and beating them out of them. Two pieces of cannon, which happened to be near, were discharged at them; but although they received no injury from the shots, they soon found that they could not accomplish their purpose, and returned to the city.

On the thirteenth a piece of cannon was fired up Pump street from the opposite side of the river; it broke the leg of one boy and wounded another; it then rolled all the way to the church and stuck in the wall. The next day a ball came in the same direction, but did no harm; both of these were red-hot. At the same time one of the Derry-men was killed outside the wall, and as the enemy approached to strip him, some of his friends fired at them and brought the body off. Many guns were fired this day on both sides, but no injury was done to the city.

On the sixteenth one of the serjeants of the besieged was killed by the enemy. Several of the citizens imprudently went without orders to parley with the Irish, which obliged the garrison to fire some shots for the purpose of recalling them, by which four of the enemy were killed. The forenoon of the seventeenth turned out extremely wet, and nothing was done on either side during the whole of the day.

On the eighteenth, according to Captain Ash's journal, for the date of this transaction is not given by Walker or Mackinzie, a large party of the garrison went above Creggan, with Captains Noble and Cunningham, where they met the enemy, and were almost surrounded before they were aware. Captain Cunningham and several of his men were killed after quar ter had been given to them, and many were wounded, several of whom died soon afterwards.

The Irish now gave daily instances of falsehood and perfidy, which confirmed an account given by one of their own people, a prisoner in the city, who, to ease a troubled conscience, confessed to Walker and others that they had all been bound by an obligation, both of oath and written resolutions, not to keep faith with Protestants, and to break whatever articles should become necessary to give them. When they hung out a white flag to invite the besieged to a treaty, Governor Walker ventured out to get within hearing of Lord Louth and Colonel O'Neill, and, as he passed, a hundred shots were fired at him by the perfidious enemy. He got into a house, and upbraiding some of their officers with this violation of faith and of common confidence between man and man in civilized warfare, desired that they would order their men to be quiet, or he would command the guns on the walls to be discharged at them. The only satisfaction he got was a denial that those he addressed were concerned in the shameful act, or knew any thing about it. By a flagrant breach of parole, they contrived to deprive the Derry-men of the only boat which remained with them, the rest having been taken away by those who had fled from the city, or been sent out of it on errands. They desired that one White, the owner of the boat, should be sent

to them, with two men, whom they promised to send back in it, but they detained both the men and the boat, to the great loss of those who had been credulous enough to rely on their word. Fifteen or sixteen of the besieged were killed in the sally, which proved fatal to Captain Cunningham.

About this time the defenders of the city heard of the arrival of Colonel Dorrington in the Irish camp, a circumstance eagerly communicated to them for the purpose of intimidation. This gentleman was esteemed to be a very able officer, and of such there was no superabundance in the besieging army. The historical drama marks his arrival as having taken place before the death of General Ramsay, in the engagement of the fourth of this month. This week the Governor, with the advice of some officers, drew a line across the Wind-mill hill from the bog to the water. They secured it, when finished, with redoubts, to defend it from the enemy's cannon on the Preher side of the river. This new line was guarded, both by night nd day, by the different regiments of infantry in their turn, for some time; but afterwards, on suspicion of an officer on that out-guard, it was kept by detachments out of each.

The following is the account given of several of the abovementioned enterprises in the Armagh poem:—

"In a few days the Governor sends forth
Full fifteen hundred soldiers to the north
Of Creggan-burn, and this undaunted band,
Noble and Cunningham conjoin'd command,
The fort towards Inch they seiz'd with matchless force,
But were surpris'd by Galmoy's troops of horse:
Thirty stout men in this affair were lost,
And in brave Cunningham alone a host,
A prisoner, on articles, the foe
Broke trust, and martial law, and laid him low.
In many a bloody fray, severely tried,
By a base murderer the hero died.
Such deeds as these, grown frequent, caus'd disgust,
And no man would an Irish promise trust.

Mean time brave Noble makes a safe retreat, At fair Brook-Hall the enemy we beat; And burn their fascines, there the strong Monroe, Cut down an Irishman at every blow. Irvine, a captain, admirably fought, Until he was disabled by a shot. His father, brave Sir Gerrard, dead and gone, Had been renown'd for worth in forty-one. The bolts and bars of Londonderry gaol, To keep him captive prov'd of no avail, When Coote for loyalty a sentence gave, Which doom'd Fermanagh's hero to the grave. The foe our worsted men began to chase, And to the city they retreat apace. The enemy, their army to secure, A trench began across the boggy moor. It griev'd our General's great heart and soul, To see them at this work without control; He therefore led three thousand soldiers out, Who beat them in a trice from the redoubt, And cleared the trenches, but some troops of horse In turn repell'd them by their greater force. Three times our General the trenches gain'd, And on our side success would have remain'd, Had not bold Waucop with a fresh supply Compell'd our forces to the town to fly; From which, because no timely succour came, Our Governors, for once, got worthy blame; While in the glory valiant Captain Blair, With our commander, bore an equal share.

On Sunday, the nineteenth, the body of Captain Cunningham was brought into Derry, and interred there next day with military honours, when there was a solemn fast kept by the members of the Church of Scotland, and other Non-conformists. Besides the sermon in the cathedral on this occasion, their ministers preached in two other places of the city, and considerable collections were made for the poor, who now began to stand in need of them. In a short time afterwards

another fast was observed by the members of the Established Church.

On the twenty-second the Derry-men killed five of the enemy, and the next day many pieces of cannon were discharged on both sides, without doing any execution; this could hardly have happened had the contending parties been veterans in the art of war.

The Irish now moved the main body of their army from St. Johnstown, and pitched their tents upon Ballougry-hill, about two miles from Derry, S. S. W. They placed guards on all sides of the town, so that the besieged found it impossible to receive or convey any intelligence, and had great difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply of water, which they often had to seek for at the risk of their lives, and obtain by loss of blood. One gentleman, burning with thirst, raised a bottle of water to his head just as he took it out of the well, when a shot came from a dextrous and perhaps humane marksman, which shivered the glass about his lips. The water of the city became so muddy by the earth which was shaken into it by repeated concussions of the ground from the discharge of cannon on the walls, that the garrison were obliged to run these risks to obtain some fit for use.-A few filtering stones at this time would have been an invaluable acquisition.

Three days were now spent, as if by mutual consent of the besiegers and besieged, in total inactivity; but before daylight on the twenty-seventh, three hundred of the latter, starting from the Wind-mill, divided into two equal parts, and proceeded to Ballougry on the one side, and Pennyburn on the other, in order to surprise the enemy's camp at these places. The assailants of Ballougry effected nothing; the others went near a fort which the enemy had erected, and fired briskly at the men in it, but with what effect was not known; four of this party were wounded there, and two killed. Lieutenant Green led one of these parties, and Ensign Dunbar the other. On

the same day the cannon from the city killed one of the Irish captains, and wounded two men. Captain Ash sent out his sister Gardiner, to her husband, under the protection of the surgeon who came to attend Lord Netterville. Captain Fortescue and her brother attended her beyond an orchard, where she passed into the enemy's lines.

Two regiments of horse and foot now came from Strabane, and drew up above Captain Stuart's house, where they rested a while. Five pieces of cannon discharged at them from the church bastion, obliged them to retreat. On this day Major William Church was interred, and about the same time the enemy fired three pieces of cannon, a ball from one of which entered a window of the cathedral, but did no other damage. This day the horse-mill at the free school began to grind malt; this seems a trifling incident to be recorded, till we consider it as a proof that there could have been no great precaution used against approaching famine, when those who were fainting with hunger in July, had been malting their corn in May.

On the twenty-eighth, as a troop of the enemy's horse were going down to Pennyburn, the cannon from the double bastion in the city killed three of them. Governor Baker rewarded the gunners with three pieces of money each, of a kind which Captain Ash denominated cobs. A bombardment being threatened on the next night, the Governor took one hundred and seven barrels of powder out of the church, and buried them in two places in Bishop-street, which had been wells, but were now dry. They placed them under tanned and green hides, and some beams of timber, covering all with rubbish and dung. In the evening a drum was beat through the city to warn the inhabitants to provide water in every house to quench the fire, if any should arise from the bombardment threatened that night.

The morning of the thirtieth of May arrived, and proved that the threatened bombardment of the city, in the preceding night, was one of the many falsehoods circulated by the enemy to harass the garrison. This morning their post was taken, and all the letters they had despatched to Dublin were brought into the city. They stated that no less than three thousand of the Irish army had died of sickness since the commencement of the siege; that the survivors could get no rest from the frequent sallies of the besieged, and that they had made places under ground to secure themselves from the cannon shot, but all in vain. At the same time advices came from other parts, that a large army might be daily expected from England to raise the siege, in consequence of which, the guns on the walls were twice discharged, and the bells chimed in the cathedral.

On this day a ball from a piece of cannon in Captain Strong's orchard struck off the arm of one brother and broke the arm of another, who had been walking together in Pump street. This night the enemy employed themselves in making ditches on the hill over the bog; they also planted one piece of cannon at Strawbridge-town, and another in Tamnemore, over the Lough opposite the Wind-mill hill.

Towards the latter end of May, the Governor of Enniskillen hearing that there was a garrison of the Irish army at Redhills, in the county of Cavan, which distressed the Protestant parties stationed near them, and that another at Ballynacarrig, in the same county, was equally troublesome, he therefore sent Colonel Lloyd with fifteen hundred men to reduce them. The report of his march flying before him, with great exaggerations of his numbers, the Irish fled in all directions; and on his arrival at Redhills, the garrison there surrendered upon quarter. As the house in which they posted themselves belonged to Colonel White, a Protestant gentleman, then in arms for King William, it was left uninjured, and Lloyd proceeded with his army to Ballynacarrig, taking his prisoners along with him. The castle here was reported to be one of the

strongest in that part of Ireland, and had for several days baffled Oliver Cromwell's army, surrendering only on the general desertion of all the strong holds by the Irish, when the whole kingdom was subdued. There was at this time, however, but a small garrison in it, with little ammunition, and the news of the taking of Redhills struck so great a terror into the possessors of it, that in a few hours after the Enniskillenmen got there, they held out a flag for a treaty, which ended in a capitulation, that they should surrender the castle on condition of being permitted, with the prisoners taken in the other fortress, to go away unstripped, leaving the castle, with all it contained, including arms, ammunition, furniture, &c. to the plunder of the besieged. Some pikes, about thirty muskets, a few cases of pistols, and a little gunpowder were found here. As soon as the castle had been rifled of its contents, the soldiers undermined the walls, set it on fire, and in a few hours it fell to the ground a heap of ruins. This they did, because it was a place of great strength, situated in a part of the country almost exclusively occupied by the Irish, who would soon have repossessed themselves of it if left standing. The news of the taking of these places flew to Dublin, gathering importance from exaggeration as it proceeded. Fifteen thousand Protestants were said to be on their march for that city, and the rumour, which spread universal consternation, was countenanced by the advance of Colonel Lloyd and his men to the neighbourhood of Kells, in the county of Meath, from which place and from Finea, on their return, they brought back to Enniskillen above three thousand cows and oxen, two thousand sheep, and some horses, without the loss of one man.

On the last day of May, there was a skirmish at the Windmill hill, near Londonderry, the cannon on both sides playing smartly. About ten o'clock in the morning a considerable number of the enemy came running down the fields, and possessed themselves of a height beyond the place from which

they had forced our men to retreat, on which a party sallied out of the city to the Wind-mill, from which, with the guard there, they went over to the camp at the top of the hill, where there was a warm contest for some time, but the Irish, as might be expected, beat off their assailants, and there was much execution on both sides.

On the first of June one of the small guns at the Wind-mill fired eight or ten shots at the enemy, as they were employed in making a trench opposite the Gallows; and some of those who were at this work being shot, the rest ran away. Many great and small guns were discharged on both sides during this day, and in the course of the night there were four shells thrown into the city. On the next day a cannon-ball struck off the arms and legs of two men who were lying in a little hut on the Bishop's bowling green. Men were employed all this day in making leaden-balls for the cannon of the besieged: hogsheads were placed in the double and royal bastions, filled with earth and gravel, to secure the breast-work from the battering guns of the enemy; one of whose balls, weighing nineteen pounds, struck the cathedral church, but did little damage to it. For the greater part of this afternoon the fire of great and small shot was incessant, and for the four preceding days the enemy made no less than sixteen forts on both sides of the river, fixing guns upon such of them as they designed for immediate use. Within these ten days several of the enemy's partisans came to them from Scotland, who advised a closer investment of the city than had hitherto been attempted. The camps being before this time no nearer than Ballougry and Pennyburn, there was liberty for the grazing of cattle round the city within the lines, but from this forward they were so closely besieged, that they dared not to venture out of the island.

On the third, some ships appeared in the river below Culmore. The Irish discharged thirteen bombs into the city; the first killed a man and a woman, the second or third killed Mr. James Boyd in his own house, and wounded Anne Heath, who died shortly afterwards. The others did no other harm than tear up the streets, making great holes in the pavement, and one of them, when it broke, flew back into the river at the Ship-quay. Another fell upon a dunghill in the rear of Mr. Cunningham's house, whose wife had presence of mind enough to draw the fuse from the touch-hole in time to prevent an explosion of its contents. It weighed two hundred and seventy pounds, fifteen of which were gunpowder.

A cannon ball from Tamnemore, on the other side of the water, struck Major Graham on the belly, as he was leaning over the wall at Ship-quay gate: he died of the wound next day. During the night fifteen shells were thrown into the city, which killed and wounded several people, and broke down many houses. Seven men of Colonel Lance's company were killed in Mr. Harper's house in Ship-quay street, and many others elsewhere.

On the fourth of this month the Governor of Enniskillen hearing that the Irish army besieging Derry had sent a great many of their horses to graze near Omagh, despatched two troops of dragoons, under the command of Captains Francis Gore and Arnold Crosby, into the parish of Kilskerry, ordering them to keep garrison at Trillick, a house belonging to Captain Audley Mervyn, and about half way between Enniskillen and Omagh. They had not staid there above two days, when taking with them another troop of horse and two companies of foot that quartered in the parish of Kilskerry, they went in the evening about sunset towards Omagh, and before eight o'clock the next morning they returned to Trillick with about eighty good horses, taken from the enemy, and nearly as many more of smaller and inferior horses fit for labour, and about three hundred cows. By this enterprise they dismounted about three troops of the enemy's horse, and would

have surprised their fort at Omagh, if notice had not been sent to the enemy of their coming, which gave them time to secure their position, but not to save their cattle. On the same day that this party marched from Enniskillen, the besiegers of Derry attacked the works at the Wind-mill with horse and foot, having divided the former into three squadrons. The first of them was commanded by the Hon. Captain Butler, son of Lord Mountgarret, and consisted of gentlemen, sworn, as it was reported, to top the Derry lines, which they attacked on the water-side, and the other two parties were to have followed The besieged placed themselves within their line in three ranks, so advantageously, that they were able in succession to relieve each other, and fire upon the enemy, who expected but a single volley to impede their course. Their infantry had faggots before them for a defence against the shots of their adversaries, and all together, horse and foot, began the attack with a loud shout, which was re-echoed from all parts of the Irish camp, by the savage howl of the numerous rabble that had gathered round it. The faggot men found their twigs but a weak defence against the bullets of the Protestants, and were routed in a few minutes. It being low water, Captain Butler and the horsemen under his command came to the end of the line notwithstanding a heavy fire on them, and stooping down over their horses' necks, about thirty of them leaped on the works, and overtopped them in the accomplishment of their sworn purpose. The Derry-men, surprised that none of these horsemen had fallen from the many shots fired at them, were at last undeceived by Captain Crook, who observed that they were covered with armour, and commanded a fire upon their horses, which had such an effect that but three of these gallant gentlemen escaped with great difficulty. Captains John and James Gladstanes, Adams, Francis Boyd, R. Wallace, John Maghlin, and William Beatty, distinguished themselves highly on this occasion. With the infantry under their command,

they left the redoubts, and attacked Butler and his horsemen on the strand, with muskets, pikes, and scythes, killing most of them, and driving some into the river, to sink or swim in their iron armour. During the heat of this action, a body of the enemy's grenadiers attacked the forts at the Bogside, where Captain Michael Cunningham kept the defenders of them steady to their posts till they were beaten back by the enemy. They were ably assisted by Lieutenants James Kerr, Josias Abernethy and Clark, the latter of whom was wounded at the same moment with Mr. Thomas Maxwell. The fair sex shared the glory of the defence of Londonderry on this occasion; for when the men, to whom they had for the whole time intrepidly carried ammunition, match, bread and drink, began to fall back, they rushed forward in a considerable number, and beat back the grenadiers with stones as they attempted to climb up the trenches. One brave boy joined them, and altogether they stemmed the torrent of war, till a reinforcement rushed from the city and repulsed the assailants. After slaughtering sixty of them, they chased the rest over the meadows.

Captain Cunningham narrowly escaped with his life at this time; a cannon ball tore up the ground about him, and he received a musket ball in his back.

The rout of General Hamilton's infantry at the Wind-mill, had by this time been completed. They had been as warmly received as their cavalry there, and after a few of them had furiously ran in upon their opponents, and were either killed or drawn over the works by the hair of their heads, the remainder wheeled about and fled in a tumultuous manner. Colonel Munro acquitted himself with great gallantry at this place, as also did Captain Ash, who with the modesty characteristic of heroism, has not dropped an expression in his Journal which could intimate his presence there, except the following ebullition of gratitude to heaven—"Blessed be God," says

he, "we had a notable victory over them, to their great discouragement, for they have not attempted a place since."

The Poem found at Armagh, however, does justice to this gallant officer, as well as to many others not mentioned by him or Walker, or Mackinzie, and thus affords another opportunity and apology for quoting it.

"THE SECOND BATTLE OF WIND-MILL HILL."

"To guard the Wind-mill from the watchful foe, Strong trenches in a line they quickly throw From Columb's wells, upon our western side, Down to the lowest point that marks the tide. Colonel Munro is station'd near the walls-Stout Campbell's post upon his left hand falls, Along the trenches many captains stand, Each at the head of an intrepid band. Beside the glossy margin of the lake, Did Col'nel Cairnes his position take, When in defence of our devoted town He found success and merited renown. Soon Col'nel Nugent in front appears, Commanding a strong force of grenadiers. He makes his onset briskly at the wells, As briskly him the stout Munro repels. Then reinforc'd, the Irish force return, To fight or die impatiently they burn. On goes the fray, till near the holy well Nugent was wounded, and O'Farrel fell. Waucop and Buchan, Scottish Chiefs, then come With ten battalions, marching fife and drum; Yet could they not our constant fire sustain, While dead men's bodies cover'd all the plain. The Irish pressed our trenches on the strand, Till noble AsH their efforts did withstand. Armstrong came on to aid him in the fight, And then they put their boldest foes to flight. Away Bob Porter pike and pike-staff threw, And with large stones nine Irish soldiers slew;

Another Ajax aiming, sure and slow, A skull was fractur'd at his every blow. Gladstanes and Baird, a bright example show, And Captain Hannah stoutly fought the foe; Their horsemen bravely came with heart and hand, Resolv'd that nothing should their arms withstand. Fierce was the contest, we their force repel, And almost all their gallant party fell. Butler, their leader, we a pris'ner take, Captain M'Donald, too, we captive make; Whilst valiant Watson, fighting until death, Resigned upon the spot his latest breath. Cairnes did wonders in this bloody field, Where, to his arm, full many a foe did yield. Here followed closely valiant Captain Lane, By whom the foe in multitudes were slain. Their foot bore off their dead upon their back, To save their bodies from our fierce attack. Then reinforc'd, we chase them o'er the plain, Where full two thousand of their men are slain. On our side, Maxwell fell upon the spot, Knock'd down and shatter'd by a cannon shot. While Col'nel Hammel did the foe pursue, Through his left cheek a pistol bullet flew. The valiant Murray, &c."

[Here is a want of eight pages.]

The account of the carrying off the dead bodies of their companions for the purpose of saving their own bones, is corroborated both by Walker and Mackinzie, the former of whom says, "We wondered that the foot did not, according to custom, run faster, till we took notice that in their retreat they took their dead upon their backs, and so preserved their own bodies from the remainder of our shot, which was more service than they did when alive."

The Irish lost four hundred of their men in this action, and the following is a list of their loss in officers:—

Lieutenant-Colonel Farrel, two French Captains, Captain Graham, Lieutenant Bourke, Adjutant Fahey, Quartermaster Kelly, Ensigns Norris and Arthur, killed. The Hon. Captain Butler, with Captains M'Donnel, M'Donagh, and Watson; Lieutenants Eustace, a French Lieutenant, and Serjeant Pigot, prisoners.

The Derry-men lost but five or six private men. Captain Maxwell, who behaved himself with great courage on this occasion, had his arm broken by a cannon ball, of which he died in three days afterwards; and Thomas Gow had all the flesh shot from the calf of his leg by another, but the bone not being broken, he recovered. Mackinzie mentions three of their Colonels, Murray, Monro, and Hammel, who were engaged on that day, and he says, in corroboration of the account in the Armagh Poem, that the latter was hurt on the cheek with a small bullet, a circumstance not noticed either by Walker or Ash. The Irish lost four pair of colours in this action, and almost all their arms, which incensed them so much, that they threw six-and-thirty shells into the town, by which many lost their lives. One of these fell on the house of Captain Cairnes, and made its way down to the cellar, where some of the sick men of Captain Ash's company lay; it killed two of them, and wounded many others.-Some of Major Campsie's and Mr. Sherrard's men were killed by these shells. One of them fell on the Diamond-house, went through it, and fell within six feet of forty-seven barrels of gunpowder which had been buried in a dry well.

On the next day, being Friday, the fifth of June, twenty-six bombs played against the city, by which many were killed and wounded. They broke down houses, raised stones, and made great holes in the streets. On the same day Mr. Edward Stones, in the time of parley, went with leave from the Irish to a little well beyond the Bog, when a French officer treacherously came behind him, snatched his sword out of the scabbard, and wounded him, but not mortally, in the side.

The enemy now increased their shells to a great size; some of them were said to weigh two hundred and seventy-three pounds, but their fuses not being prepared in an effectual manner, a great portion of them fell without bursting, and did no damage. Such of them as did burst were very destructive, and the terror of them made the inhabitants leave their houses at night and lie about the walls, where they contracted diseases which added to the prevailing mortality. Major Breme and Surgeon Lindsay were killed on the night of this day, as also Mr. Henry Thompson, a public-spirited burgess of the city. The loss of Mr. Lindsay at this time was much felt, for he had been very useful to the sick and wounded soldiers. The bombs supplied only one convenience to counterbalance all the mischief they did; fuel was now growing scarce, and they saved the trouble of ascertaining which of the houses should be pulled down first to supply it. One of the shells fell into the house of Captain James Boyd, broke down the side of it, and killed himself. Several officers who were then at dinner in the house escaped the danger, though the shell fell near the room in which they were sitting. Another killed seven, and another three of the men of the garrison.

On the next morning the bombs began again, and out of two mortars thirty shells were discharged, some large and some small, which did great mischief. One of these fell on Major Campsie's house, sunk into the cellar, and struck the heads out of two wine hogsheads, but fortunately did not touch a large quantity of gunpowder which lay near them. Another fell on Captain Cairnes's house, breaking all the furniture and glass in it. Another fell on Captain Abram's house, and smeared it all over with some syrup which had been stored there; it also broke the Captain's under jaw. Three of them fell on the market-house, which greatly defaced it, and spoiled the clock.

On the seventh eleven bombs were shot into the city, with

little or no damage to it; and in the mean time the spirits of the garrison were raised by the view of three small ships, the Greyhound frigate with two small ketches, coming up the river towards Culmore. A boat was launched for the purpose of meeting them, but could not be moved from the shore, because the places for the oars had been made so near to each other, that the men had not room to row. The ships fired on the castle at Culmore as soon as they approached within shot of it, but one of them running aground, on being left by the tide, was much endangered by the enemy's cannon. The Irish called to the Derry-men, in derision, to send down carpenters to mend her; but she soon righted, and, with others, got out of the range of the fire from the fort. In the Life of James the Second, it is observed, that this vessel would have been battered to pieces, but that the gunners at Culmore were none of the best.

The bombs recommenced their work of destruction next day, no less than five-and-thirty of them being discharged into the city, killing some people and wounding many more, by shattering their legs and arms to pieces. One of them fell upon Mr. Moore's house, and drove a stone out of it, which killed a man at the Ship-quay bastion, below the magazine.

On Sunday, the ninth, there was a pause in the firing on the city; the besiegers for this day intermitted their cannonade, not in honour of the Sabbath, which they had never, before this time, observed as a day of rest from their fruitless labours at Londonderry, but because it happened to be the patron day of St. Columbkil!!!

On the tenth the Governor of Enniskillen, having heard of the dreadful state of the Protestants in Londonderry, who, it was generally thought, would be obliged to surrender if not relieved in a very few days, marched with two thousand of his men on his way towards that city, and came that night to Trillick. The next morning he proceeded towards Omagh, and on the way received a false information of that place having been abandoned by its garrison. Deceived by this news, some of those who travelled with the Enniskilleners, but were not under any command, went on before the main body, in hope of getting the plunder of the town before the soldiers got into it. Such was their incautious haste, that they went near a mile before the forlorn hope, and the consequence was, that when they got within three miles of Omagh, they were surprised by a party of the Irish that lay in ambuscade in a valley, and came upon them unawares. They all, however, effected their escape, with the exception of Mr. Rowland Betty, a man in good esteem among all who knew him. After discharging his pistol at the enemy, he was in the act of wheeling round and retreating, when his horse fell with him to the ground, and before he could recover the saddle again, they came forward to him, took him prisoner, and after bringing him a great way nearer to Omagh, cruelly murdered him. In this way, indeed, did they usually deal with all the prisoners who surrendered to them on promise of quarter. In the mean time the Governor of Enniskillen, with his party, marched within a mile and a half of Omagh.

On the next day he possessed himself of the whole town except the fort, which he invested; his men being good marksmen, as the Protestants generally were, placed themselves in the houses about it, and fired with such precision upon the besieged that not a man of them came in view, after one of them had been killed and others wounded. In a few hours, however, an express arrived from Enniskillen, followed by several other hasty communications, informing the Governor and officers with him, that Colonel Sarsfield, with five or six thousand men, had advanced to Ballyshannon and laid siege to it, and that at the same time Colonel Sutherland had appeared with another army before Belturbet. Each of these places being in different directions, twenty miles distant from Enniskillen, the

danger of an attack from these armies appeared imminent, and a consultation was held, when it was resolved that it was their more immediate duty to return to the protection of their town, than to proceed, according to their previous purpose, to the relief of another. Some of the officers would have the town of Omagh burned, it being a great shelter and convenience to the Irish army on their marches through the country; but as it belonged to Captain Mervyn, a steady Protestant, it was saved for his sake; and on the next day the whole party returned to Enniskillen.

On the eleventh, two of the enemy's mortars threw no less than twenty-eight shells into the city of Londonderry.

"The Irish bombs cast many a fatal ball,
Which bursting, fly amongst us as they fall;
Terror around in each direction spread,
Knock down the living and disturb the dead,
By these dread harbingers of sudden death,
The tender matron yields her struggling breath.
The hero lifeless on the pavement lies,
And the pale infant in his cradle dies."

At six o'clock in the evening of this day, a fleet appeared in Lough Foyle, which came up to the Three Trees about an hour before midnight. A flattering communication was made to the besieged this evening by one Dobin, who came from the enemy's camp, and told them that the Irish army, terrified at the approach of the English fleet with troops on board, had resolved to decamp the next night. This information, however, soon proved to have been premature. The mortality in the city, from various causes, became at this time very great, and from the commencement of the siege to this time thirty persons, on an average, were buried in it every day. The mortality in the Irish camp, as afterwards appeared, was scarcely less in proportion to the number of people which it contained, for the season was unusually cold and wet, and a dry bed for the sick or wounded was a luxury enjoyed by few.

On the fourteenth, the shells continued to fall in the city, but without doing any great mischief.

The Enniskilleners received intelligence on the fifteenth of this month, that Colonel Sutherland's force at Belturbet was daily increasing, as the Irish were flocking to him from all parts of the country, and that it was his intention to advance in a short time into the county of Fermanagh. Resolved to anticipate their attack, the Governor of Enniskillen ordered Colonel Lloyd to take the field with the greatest strength of foot and horse which he could collect, and to march against Sutherland. In two days afterwards, Lloyd, with his little army, which Irish rumours had again swelled to the imaginary number of fifteen thousand, came to Maguire's bridge, half way between Enniskillen and Belturbet, from which a spy fled on his approach, and informed Sutherland that all the forces of the Enniskilleners were in full march to attack him. This officer had with him at Belturbet only two regiments of foot, a regiment of dragoons, and a few troops of horse. He had brought with him from Dublin spare arms for two regiments of new raised men, that were every day coming to him, and he had provided some pieces of cannon and a great store of biscuit, wheat, flour, malt, and other provisions for his army, intending to besiege Enniskillen. When the news of the approach of Lloyd was conveyed to him, he gave credit to the exaggerated account of his opponents, and no longer considered it safe to remain in Belturbet. There was no place of strength there, but the church and grave yard about it, the latter of which was but weakly fortified, and not large enough to contain the men he had with him. He therefore retreated towards Monaghan, intending, if pursued, to get under the shelter of the fort at Charlemont, and left a detachment of eighty dragoons, with about two hundred foot, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Scott, and some other officers, to defend themselves against the Enniskilleners in

Belturbet. The next day happening to be remarkably wet, Lloyd's army could not march from their quarters, and so the retreat of Sutherland was effected without a pursuit, but on the succeeding day, which proved fair, the Enniskilleners appeared before Belturbet. Colonel Lloyd advancing at the head of his men against the town, ordered Captain Robert Vaughan and Captain Hugh Galbraith, with their two troops of dragoons, on the forlorn hope. Within two miles of that town they were fired upon by a troop of dragoons, upon which they alighted from their horses and lined the ditches upon both sides of the road, which unusual manœuvre, together with the appearance of the main body of their army coming up at the moment, caused the Irish dragoons to retreat to Belturbet, where, with the rest of their party, they took post in and about the church, and in the Archbishop of Dublin's house adjoining to it, and commanding them so from a range of windows in an upper story, that it appeared to be almost impossible for the assailants to stand within the range of their fire. But after two hours' skirmishing, in which they proved themselves but indifferent marksmen, and lost some of their numbers, they held out a white flag for a treaty, and surrendered upon conditions, that their lives should be spared, but that the common soldiers should be stripped of their red coats, which was accordingly done. The officers were not included in this ingenious stipulation, and had all their money, under ten pounds each, left with them. The prisoners amounted in number to three hundred, including Colonel Scott and thirteen other officers. Two hundred of the meanest of these prisoners were discharged next morning, the victors being unwilling to take the trouble of maintaining them, and the rest, with their officers, were brought to Enniskillen, together with about seven hundred muskets, a barrel and an half of gunpowder, eighty dragoon horses, with all the accoutrements belonging to them, about twenty horse-loads of biscuit, above fifty barrels of flour,

one hundred barrels of wheat, some malt and other provisions, and as many red coats as served two companies of men, who were in great want of such clothing. All this valuable plunder, except the horses, was conveyed by boats over Lough Erne to Enniskillen, where it was very acceptable, particularly the gunpowder, which was as much as the garrison had at that time remaining in their stores. This dispersion of an hostile force, with the seasonable supply of necessaries, was achieved without the loss of a man!!! The biscuit and flour yielded the garrison a supply of food which lasted till their harvest afforded them a new supply, and the arms were almost as necessary to the new raised companies, as the clothing had been.

Matters, however, wore a different aspect in Londonderry at this time, where a want of provisions began to be severely felt; it was in vain that the precaution had been taken of salting and barrelling the flesh of the horses killed in the second engagement at the Wind-mill hill, and that the garrison had for a considerable time before been put upon a short allowance of provisions; famine now stared them in the face, and many of them began to die of hunger. They were now reduced to such straits, that where they could find a horse grazing near the Wind-mill, they would kill and eat him; and when they saw the fleet this day (the thirteenth) remain below Culmore without an attempt to come up, it cast a cold damp on their too confident hopes, and sunk them as low as they had been raised by the first sight of it. This fleet was under the command of Major-General Kirk, a man not likely to go much out of his way, for the purpose of diminishing the sum of human misery. It consisted of thirty sail, with a reinforcement of five thousand men, and a supply of provisions. The besieged made the usual demonstrations of joy on the appearance of relief, but they were not returned. The works erected on each side of the river deterred Kirk from endeavouring to bring

the fleet to its destination. Signals of distress were in vain made from the steeple. Kirk, on seeing the enemy draw their cannon to the water side, sailed out of the mouth of the harbour, and left the men of Derry in despair. The consternation of the besieging army on the appearance of this fleet, formed a strong contrast with the feelings which prevailed among the besieged. The Irish were observed, on the first appearance of the fleet, to be in great agitation, pulling down their tents, changing their red coats for other clothing, and many of them actually running away; but their terror subsided when they saw Kirk, disregarding the advantage of wind and tide, sail out of the river and withdraw the terrific vision from their sight. The boom, which was afterwards thrown across the river, had not at this time been completed, and had this unfeeling man remained even where he was for the night, the enemy's camp would, in all probability, have been deserted before morning, and six weeks of intense suffering might have been saved the defenders of the city.

He did not, however, abandon his purpose; he turned round with his fleet into Lough Swilly, and fortified the island of Inch, which was well situated for holding a correspondence both with Derry and Enniskillen. Immediately after the disappearance of Kirk's fleet, the Irish began to make a boom across the river from Charles fort to Brook-hall, which was directly opposite to it. The first boom was made of oaken beams, bound together with iron chains and strong cables twisted about them. They were employed for an entire week in drawing timber and other materials, but when they thought they had their work completed, it was found as useless as Robinson Crusoe's dry-land boat, for although near enough the water to be launched, it would not float, and was soon broken by the spring tides. After this they made another of lighter material, which appeared to answer their purpose much better, till it was tried by the Mountjoy of Derry. It was fastened at

one end through the arch of a bridge, at the other by a huge piece of timber, the larger end of which was sunk in the ground, and fortified by heavy stone work. The account of this boom, brought into the city by prisoners, with the usual exaggerations, created great alarm and uneasiness there; hope was rapidly disappearing, while abortive efforts were incessantly made by signals from the steeple to the ships, and back from them again, to communicate or acquire intelligence of what was to be expected at this trying crisis.

On Sunday, the sixteenth, the bells of the cathedral rung a peal of joy on the discovery of twenty sail of ships in the direction of Coleraine. Three rounds of cannon were fired from the walls, and answered from the vessels at sea. At the same time Governor Walker, very prudently proposed to the garrison to accept a ransom of five hundred pounds for the wounded and worthless body of Colonel Talbot, commonly called wicked Will Talbot. A council was held to decide on this offer, in the bed-chamber of Governor Baker, who had taken his last sickness at this time, but the garrison had such a rooted hatred to Tyrconnel, that they used most violent threats against any one who should attempt to liberate his relative on any terms, and burned the bier which had been sent for the dying man. Baker's utmost efforts were scarcely able to restrain their fury on this occasion, and they treated Walker not only with disrespect, but menaces. They afterwards made no opposition to an offer made by the Governors to release this prisoner on condition that the enemy would permit a man to go to the ships with a message from them, and be allowed to return to the city; but this, which might probably have been accomplished for one-half of the sum which had been offered as a ransom for Talbot, was refused. Talbot's death, in a short time, proved that Walker's advice ought to have been taken.

On the morning after the refusal of the ransom for this pri-

soner, the rabble of the garrison, whose indiscretion seemed to increase as their dangers multiplied, assumed the government of the city, in a freak, put Lord Netterville, Sir Garret Aylmer, Mr. Newcomen, John Buchanan, Bryan M'Laughlin, and all the prisoners except Talbot, into Newgate. They then went about the city, taking meal, and whatever they could get, without respect to persons or property.

" Iliacos peccatur muros inter et extra."

In the evening of the same day this capricious mob released Sir Garret Aylmer and Mr. Newcomen, and the others on the next day.

About this time fever, dysentery, and other diseases, became very general, and a great mortality existed among the garrison and inhabitants of the city; in one day no less than fifteen commissioned officers died.

Famine now approaching, Alexander Watson, captain of the gunners, who, for the most part, had houses in the city, was ordered with his men to make a diligent search for provisions, which they did with good effect; for, digging up cellars and other places, they found a very considerable quantity of meal and other articles of food which had been buried by persons who had died or left the city. Many also, who had secret stores, came voluntarily with their stock of provisions to the public receptacle for them, by which means the garrison was furnished with bread nearly to the end of the siege, though the allowance was little. On the fifteenth of this month the allowance to each company, consisting of sixty men, was half a barrel of barley and sixty pounds of meal.

The besieged now sent many a longing look towards the ships, and building an eight-oared boat, sent it out well manned to attempt a passage down the harbour, with an account of their miserable state. The adventurers went off with the

prayers and blessings of the anxious multitude, but finding it impossible to proceed on their destination through the shower of balls fired at them from each side of the water, they returned to their disappointed friends.

The iron bullets hitherto used by the defenders of the city being now almost spent, the want of them was first supplied by leaden bullets, in the heart of each of which were pieces of burned brick, and in a little time several balls were made of rounded stones.

On the eighteenth of June, James being in severe want of money, began to issue vast quantities of coin, made current by a proclamation at a rate utterly disproportioned to its intrinsic value. The metal of which it was made was the very worst kind of brass; old guns, and the refuse of the basest metals, were melted down to make it.—The braziers' shops were first ransacked, and then the kitchens of the metropolis were pillaged of their brass pots, skillets, and boilers .- All the brass that could be collected in the houses was brought to the mint, and scarcely a single rapper was left upon a hall-door in Dublin. The workmen rated this metal at three or four pence a pound, and when it was coined, three or four pence were metamorphosed into three pounds. In this way all the government payments were made, and the Protestants were compelled to take it in exchange for their goods, while they were obliged to make all their payments in gold or silver, by which they were defrauded of about sixty thousand pounds a month from this time to the victory at the Boyne. None of the brass money, however, was imposed upon the men of Londonderry or Enniskillen; the metal they received from their enemies, they repaid with interest in the same coin.

On the eighteenth day of this month the Mareschal General Conrad de Rosen arrived at the Irish camp, with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men. He expressed his utter contempt for the city as soon as he looked at it, declared that he could make his men bring it to him stone by stone, and impiously swore by the belly of God, that he would demolish it and bury its defenders in the ruins. But this vapouring had as little weight here as this vain Frenchman's promises, of which he was remarkably profuse, and the first order issued after this accession of strength to the enemy, was that NO MAN, ON PAIN OF DEATH, SHOULD SPEAK OF SURRENDERING THE CITY.

Governor Baker grew so very ill at this time that he found it necessary to depute Colonel Mitchelburn to be joint Governor with the Rev. George Walker, during his sickness, that when one commanded in sallies, the other might take care of the city, and if one should fall the place might not be kept without a Governor, and put to the hazard of being divided by an election. During the evening of the eighteenth the mob of the city pulled down the remainder of the market-house, carrying off the timber for fuel, which had become scarce at this time, and during the night Colonel Murray, with Captains Noble, Dunbar, and Holmes, with two Lieutenants, one Wrake, and Alexander Poke, a gunner, went up the river in the new boat, on pretence of plundering the fish-houses on the island, but with the real design to land two messengers in a wood four miles from the city, to go to Enniskillen with an account of their distressed situation. When they had got some little distance towards their destination, the enemy fired on them from both sides of the shore, and when arrived at Donnelong wood, where they intended to land the messengers, the boys were so terrified that they would not venture ashore, and the design was frustrated.-The morning in the mean time began to dawn, when Murray and his party discovered two large boats behind them, manned with dragoons, advancing to cut off their retreat. A sharp conflict ensued, and after the ammunition on both sides was spent, one of the boats attempting to board the Derry-men, "caught a tartar," as Mackinzie expresses it, for those whom they would have thus overpowered, rushed into

their assailants' vessel, beat some of the crew into the water, killed three or four others, with two of their Lieutenants, upon which the remainder threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Thirteen prisoners were taken in this boat. The enemy in the other, seeing the fate of their companions, retreated with all the haste they could, while the victors carried their prisoners and some small plunder to the city. The enemy fired upon them from both sides of the river as they passed down, and yet such was the inaccuracy with which they and the dragoons in the boats levelled their pieces, that no other injury was done than the infliction of a slight contusion on Colonel Murray's head, and the wounding of one man. Encouraged by this success, the party in the Derry boat, after landing their prisoners near the city, and delivering them to the guards, returned to attack a detachment of the Irish in Tamneymore, who were at this time drawing off one of their cannon, but they fled on the approach of the boat, leaving the gun behind them, and were followed nearly to the top of the hill, when the pursuers, perceiving a strong party advancing to intercept them, turned back, and with difficulty got into their boat. Captain Ash's date of this transaction differs from that assigned to it both by Walker and Mackinzie. This day a regiment of the Irish horse came from Muff, and drew up in a body near Rossdoney. Three pieces of cannon were fired at them from the bulwark above Ferry-gate, which were supposed to have done some execution, and caused them to retreat by the same road which they came.

Desertions from the city now became so frequent that the enemy received constant intelligence of what was passing in it, which gave great trouble to the Governors, as they were obliged, under such circumstances, to make frequent removal of their ammunition, and use other inconvenient expedients to render this kind of information uncertain. As a counterbalance to some of the many prevalent distresses at this period

of the siege, the gunners had now, by experience, become so precise in levelling the guns upon the walls, that scarcely a single shot was fired without doing execution.

Immediately after the arrival of Rosen, he caused some batteries to be thrown up by night, and raised a line on the other side of the bog opposite the Wind-mill hill, preparatory to his laying and springing a mine, and he removed the besieging camp and trenches nearer to the town than they had been, for the purpose of cutting off the works and interrupting the relief of guards. He also ran a line through the orchard opposite to Butcher's-gate and within a few perches of it; ordering the mortar pieces to be taken from the orchard on the other side of the river, and to be placed on the hill above the bog on the western side of the city. He also planted the battering guns, which threw balls of about twenty pounds each, at a convenient distance before the same gate. They plied the besieged closely with their bombs and battering pieces from this time to the twenty-first of July, when they entirely ceased, firing them at uncertain hours, some in the day time and some at night.

The Governors, availing themselves of the skill and industry of Captain Schomberg, son of the renowned veteran Mareschal of that name, and regularly trained in the art of war, and being moreover instructed by the manœuvres of the enemy, which they closely watched, countermined the besiegers before Butcher's-gate, and contrived a blind to protect their engineers from the opposite battery, whose fire was returned with such vigour and precision from the walls, that few days passed without the loss of some choice and most forward men in the Irish army.

On the night of the twentieth, some of the enemy came upon the guards on the outposts at the gallows, and wounded one of them, obliging the rest to retreat to the Wind-mill, which alarmed the city, and a strong force went out, expecting an assault. They waited there all night on the alert, but no attack was made upon them.

Twenty bomb shells were thrown into the city on the twenty-first of June; two of them fell upon the church, one of them passed over without injuring it, the other raised some sheets of lead, but it did not pass through, and some fragments of it were found by Mr. William Stewart, when taking off the materials of the old roof in the autumn of 1822. did little damage except killing one man and wounding another. Two of the Derry-men were killed this day near the lane next to the meadows, from the new trench made by the enemy opposite the Wind-mill, and about this time many were killed in attempting to bring water from St. Columb's well. A council was held this day at the Bishop's palace, where Governor Baker lay extremely ill, in which Mitchelburn was confirmed by his worthy predecessor, the governor of the city, unless he should recover from his illness, which was still expected. Captain Ash mentions this circumstance as a proof that no malice burned in Baker's mind against Mitchelburn, although there had been a dispute between them of such a nature that they drew their swords upon each other.

On the twenty-third the remains of Colonel Talbot, who died two days before, were interred, and his wife, who had offered the ransom for him, was after some deliberation, where there ought to have been none, permitted to go from the garrison. She went out in the evening attended by some officers. One of the captains, named Stringer, deserted to the enemy this day, and also one of the drummers. The engineers of the Irish army prosecuted their works in the orchard this night, the besieged still firing at them from the wall; on the next day the trench through the orchard was finished, and six bombs were thrown into the city, of which only three exploded.

The garrison had now used all their endeavours to get intelligence from the ships, but in vain. The signs from the

steeple, both by flags and cannon shot, failed to elicit any information that Kirk was acquainted with the distressed situation of the city. Roche, afterwards a captain in King William's army, arrived with a letter from the English General, assuring them, in the kindest manner, that every thing in Scotland, England and Ireland was prosperous, and that succours beyond their wishes were speedily to join them; he added, however, a chilling caution to husband their provisions, an admonition, says Dalrymple, more alarming to them than all the menaces of their enemies. A Scotchman, named James Cromie, had accompanied Roche from the fleet to the spot on the river side, where he hid his clothes and took the water, but being unable to swim, waited for a day or two concealed in bushes near that place, expecting a boat which his adventurous companion had promised to send for him in the course of the night. The Irish guards, however, discovered him, and by way of counterplot, obliged him, on pain of death, to swear that he would give the besieged a discouraging account. They then hung out a signal for a parley, which being granted, and some men being sent over to speak with him, he repeated the account which he had sworn to give; yet when Colonel Blair asked him why his account differed from that of Roche, he replied, that he was in the enemy's camp, and the other messenger within the walls of Derry. Kirk's letter, which was directed to Walker, had been written on the preceding Sunday, and, in addition to the particulars above mentioned, it stated that officers, ammunition, and arms, had been sent from the fleet to the Enniskilleners, who, for their encouragement, it reported to have had a force of three thousand infantry and fifteen hundred horse, with a regiment of dragoons, all of which had promised to come to the relief of Derry. The writer said that he would, at the same time, make a diversion, by attacking the enemy with a force detached from the island of Inch, and that he was in momentary expectation of a reinforcement

of three thousand men from England, as they had been shipped there eight days before. He added, that from several of the enemy who had deserted to him, he had assurances that the besieging army could not stand long, and that he had heard from Enniskillen of the defeat of the Duke of Berwick. Charged with this letter, and accompanied by Cromie, Roche passed through the enemy's out-posts, camp, and guard, a distance of about eight miles, whence, as already mentioned, he proceeded alone and swam into the city. He was not so fortunate in his return to the fleet; after resting but one day in Derry, he swam to the spot where he had left his clothes, a distance of three miles, and found they had been taken away. The Governors' letters were tied in a bladder to protect them from the water, and concealed in his hair. He ran in a state of nakedness for three miles, pursued by the enemy, and escaped from them only by taking shelter in a thick wood where horsemen could not follow him, but where his sufferings were intense from the laceration of his body by briars and thorns. Covered from head to foot with blood, he passed round through the woods to the water side, where he unfortunately met with a party of the Irish dragoons, one of whom broke his jaw bone with a halbert, after which he plunged into the river, and though he was fired at several times, and wounded in the arm, breast, and shoulder, he chose, as he afterwards stated in his petition to the English House of Commons, to die in the water rather than betray the trust reposed in him. When force was found ineffectual to stop this intrepid messenger, his pursuers offered him a thousand pounds if he would deliver up the letters he carried, but this he refused to do, and not finding it practicable to proceed to the fleet, swam back to Derry, and by preconcerted signals, gave notice to General Kirk that he had delivered his letter, with an intimation of the length of time which the city might be expected to hold out. These signals were the taking down of the flag for

a short time, and the firing of a certain number of guns from the steeple of the cathedral. Kirk had ineffectually offered three thousand guineas to any man who would undertake to deliver this letter, till Roche, at last, took charge of it. Walker's letter to Kirk, which had been thus prevented from going by the intended mode of conveyance, reached him however, and copies of it have been given in Nairna's collection of state papers. It mentioned the capitulation offered by General Hamilton, and the probability that the city would be compelled to accept of it, if not relieved before six days. He also represented the distress of the garrison, and the facility of sending them provisions. A letter of the same date, signed by three of the citizens, was enclosed in Walker's. informed the General that they had fed for some time upon horse flesh, which now began to fail them. They complained of sickness, mortality and desertion, and prayed to be relieved by a supply of provisions, and to have a Governor appointed if the siege should not be raised. A third letter, of the same date, and signed by Walker, Baker, and five of the citizens, mentioned the effect which the appearance of the fleet in Lough Foyle, and the delay of landing, after that time, had produced upon the enemy. It stated their fears of being undermined, their want of food for eight days, even of horse flesh, upon which they had subsisted for a considerable time before, and in the name of themselves and twenty thousand distressed Protestants, shut up in the city, on account of their loyalty and perseverance, prayed to be supplied with provisions; especially biscuit, cheese, and butter, as they had no fuel to dress their meat. They recapitulated their almost incredible victories over the enemy, and the names of the many officers of note they had killed or taken prisoners, concluding in these words:-"If you do not send us relief we must surrender the garrison within six or seven days. We understand that the boom is certainly broken, so that you may come up with ease." Kirk, in the mean time, heard their cries, and saw their signals of distress, without making the slightest effort to relieve them.

On the same day that the letter of the Governor and citizens of Derry had been written to the fleet, Colonel Gordon O'Neill, who had been an inhabitant of the city for some years before it was besieged, desired a conference with some of the officers of the garrison, and Colonel Lance and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell went out to him. They met on the strand near the gallows, and there O'Neill informed them that King James had sent instructions to Marshal Rosen, that if the city would surrender, all those who chose to go to their respective dwellings should have liberty to do so, and that any losses they should sustain would be made up to them by reprisals; those who would enter his army should be treated there without distinction of religion, and those who wished to go to England or Scotland should have liberty to depart. To these proposals he required an answer on the ensuing day; and in the mean time the enemy continued to be busily employed in making their trenches, and coming still closer to the city. The countermining went on with equal perseverance on the part of the garrison, encouraged by the indefatigable pains and expenditure of Captain Michael Cunningham and Mr. William Macky, who not only paid the soldiers out of their own pockets for the work, but what was at this time a much greater sacrifice to the general safety of the city, gave many of them food at their own houses. There was also a collection made by way of free-will offering among the inhabitants to carry on this work, by which the enemy was kept from getting to the near side of the bog, without which they could draw no mines. At this time one M'Gimpsey called upon Colonel Murray, and volunteered to swim down the Lough with intelligence to General Kirk. Murray, after consulting the Deputy-Governor, Mitchelburn, who seemed inclined to

delay the messenger, promised him a reward, and despatched him with a letter signed by himself, Colonel Cairnes, and Captain Gladstanes, representing the great extremity to which they had been reduced, and most earnestly imploring a speedy relief. This letter was closely tied in a little bladder, in which two musket-balls were placed with it, that if the enemy should take the messenger, he might break the string and let it fall into the water. Whether this unfortunate man was taken alive by the enemy, or was killed, as was reported, by being carried forcibly with the stream and tide against the boom, was not ascertained at the time, but the latter is more probable, on account of the letter reaching Mareschal de Rosen, who, in his despatch to James, of the twenty-seventh of this month, gives the following account of the transaction, and the contents of Mitchelburn's letter:-"We have fished this morning a drowned man, who floated on the river with bladders about his arms. When he was taken up we discovered that he had come out of Derry to swim to the fleet. We found in another bladder, fastened to his neck, the three letters enclosed, by which your Majesty may see in what state the town is now, and of what consequence it is to hinder the enemy from supplying it. I presume, under these circumstances, to take the liberty of representing to your Majesty that you would have been master of the town long ago, if my advice had been followed, which was, not to grant protections, nor receive any person coming from the town, by which means they would the sooner consume their provisions, and be obliged to surrender themselves with the halter about their necks."

On the same day that this letter was written, Colonels Lance and Campbell made such a reply to Gordon O'Neill, as appears to have exasperated the French General, for ten shells were, on that night, thrown into the city. One of them fell upon Joseph Gallagher's house in Bishop street, where two barrels of gunpowder were lodged. It killed no less than

fourteen persons, viz. six grenadiers belonging to the regiment in which Captain Ash served, four horsemen, and four women.

On the twenty-eighth the Irish army hung up the body of a man on a gallows, within view of the city, on the other side of the water, and called over to acquaint the garrison that it was the messenger whom they had sent towards the fleet. Colonels Fortescue and Blair went to the orchard where the camp lay to confer with Lord Louth, who, contrary to the position assigned to him in Neville's map of the city, as besieged at this time, commanded the troops on the Prehen side of the river, in conjunction with Sir Neil O'Neill, whose regiment of dragoons had quarters there. Their errand was to treat with these officers concerning Mr. James Cromie, who had, as already noticed, come there with Roche from the ships. Lord Louth and Sir Neil would not let him go, nor exchange him for any other prisoner, so he remained in the Irish camp. On this day and night twenty shells were thrown into the city. They killed one man, two women, and a child, and did severe execution upon the family of Alexander Poke, the undaunted gunner of Colonel Murray's boat in the action of the preceding Tuesday week; one of these fatal shells fell into his habitation, and killed his wife, his mother-in-law, and brother-inlaw.

This day Lord Melfort received two letters from Lord Dundee, with an account of the state of his master's affairs in Scotland; in one of them is the following passage:—"I am glad to hear, by your Lordship's letters, that the King's affairs prosper so well, and that Derry will soon be ours; but I hear it was not on Monday last. I know not what the matter is, but I would think Mackay's going south, and the troops drawing back from Kintyre towards Edinburgh, would import some alarm which they have got. I have so often written over all the country that Derry was ours, that now, say what I like,

they hardly believe me; and when I talk of relief out of Ireland they laugh at it, though I believe ere long they will find it earnest, and then our enemies' confusion will be great."

On the same day the Earl of Clancarty arrived with his regiment in the Irish camp, and being buoyed up by the Pastorini of the day, with the ridiculous prophecy that the gates of Derry should fly open at the approach of Mac Cartymore, lost no more time in trying the experiment than was necessary to get himself intoxicated with liquor, and at ten o'clock in the night, while the enemy kept up a heavy cannonade of bomb-shells, he attacked the works at the Butchers'-gate, and few of the garrison being out at the time, he soon possessed himself of them, although one of their own shells, which had missed its aim, fell among his men, and some of them were so cowardly as to run close under the walls for shelter from the shots they expected to be fired at them. The noise of the exploding shell alarmed the garrison, and the light of the combustibles, ignited and thrown about by it, discovered the assailants just as Clancarty, drunk as he was, had entered some miners in a low cellar under the half bastion, and a horseman at the Butchers'-gate had called for fire to burn it.

Three captains, Noble, Holmes, and Dunbar, with several other gentlemen, to the number of sixty and upwards, now sallied out at the Bishop's-gate, and crossing along the wall till they came very near the enemy's guards, received their fire without stopping, advanced to a position which enabled them to fire with effect, and then thundered their shots against them. The case shot from the bastion, and small shot from the walls, seconded the fire of the gallant Noble and his band of heroes so effectually, that Lord Clancarty, finding he had been misled by more false spirits than one, got sober enough to quit his post and hasten to the main body of his superstitious friends, leaving his miners and one hundred of his best men dead upon the spot. Several of his officers and private

soldiers were wounded, and as it was reported to the garrison, died of the injury they received in a few days after this action. The officers killed were a French Lieutenant-Colonel, whose name was not ascertained, Captains M'Carthy and O'Bryan, a French and an English Captain, and an English Lieutenant; Corporal Macguire and a private soldier were taken prisoners. There was but one man killed and one wounded on the Derry side, in the sharp engagement of this night. It is only fair in this place to acknowledge, that the Irish army had no monopoly of superstition at this period, when death, raging in varied shapes, tended to paralyze, while it terrified the human mind. If the besiegers believed in the prophecy of the pyebald horse, and Clancarty's magical rap at the Butchers'-gate, the besieged, according to a credible tradition still preserved in the city, were fully assured that at the hour of twelve o'clock every night, an Angel, mounted on a snow-white horse, and brandishing a sword of a bright colour, was seen to compass the city by land and water.

Nine bombs were thrown into the city upon the twentyninth of this month. One of them fell in the old church, raised five bodies from their graves, and threw one of them over the wall. Their scattered remains were immediately reinterred, by a subscription from a few gentlemen. During a parley this day, one of the garrison was killed at the outside of Butchers'-gate, and another on the wall.

On the last day of June, Governor Henry Baker died; his death was a sensible loss to the besieged, as he was a valiant man, showing, says Walker, in all his actions, the greatest honour, courage, and conduct. Mackinzie observes, he was a great loss to the garrison, by whom he was justly lamented, his prudent and resolute conduct having given him a great interest among them. Captain Ash represents him as a gentleman greatly beloved, and very well qualified for the government, being endued with great patience and moderation, free

from envy or malice, as appeared in the affair between him and Mitchelburn, whom he recommended to be his successor. He was buried in one of the vaults under the church, the pall being borne by the Governors Walker and Mitchelburn, Colonels Lance and Campbell, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and Colonel Monro. The Rev. Seth Whittel, Rector of Ballyscullen, preached his funeral sermon.

On this day, being Sunday, Rosen sent a declaration into Derry, that if the garrison would not surrender to him before six o'clock in the ensuing evening, he would drive the protected and unprotected Protestants from Enniskillen to Charlemont, under their walls, and that in case of their not then surrendering, he would make a general assault upon them, and put them to the sword without respect to age or sex. He threatened also to burn and lay waste the country, if there · should appear the least probability of troops coming to their relief. He also wrote a letter to James this day, with a copy of his declaration against the Protestants of a considerable part of Ulster, and stated that he was induced to adopt this measure, from the little hopes he had of reducing the garrison in any other way. The trenches, he said, were so filled both by the tide and the continual rains, that the besieging army was in danger of being destroyed by sickness. The letter is evidently an intemperate one, and by an independent prince would be construed into an affront. Anticipating a countermand of the cruel order he was about to issue, he threatened to resign the command of the army in case his project should not be approved; and it appears from Charles Leslie's reply to Archbishop King's account of this transaction, that the Irish General Hamilton had a serious difference of opinion with the French commandant on this occasion, in which almost every other officer in the besieging army joined the former.

Rosen's proposal was received in Derry with contempt, not unmingled with indignation, which produced some heat and

disorder in the irascible Mareschal, to which he gave immediate vent by a renewal of the bombardment on the next morning, when twenty shells were thrown into the city; one of these fell upon the steeple of the cathedral, and rolled down among the bells, doing but little damage: another struck the turrets and broke the leads. Rosen now issued his barbarous order, dated July 1st, 1689, in which he was unmanly enough to order the officers under his command to wage war against women and children. "As I have certain information," he says, "that the wives and children of the rebels in Londonderry have retired to Belfast and the neighbouring places, and as the hardiness of their husbands and fathers deserves the severest chastisements, I write this letter to acquaint you, that you are instantly to make an exact research in Belfast and its neighbourhood, after such subjects as are rebellious to the will of the king, whether men, women, Boys, or GIRLS, without exception, and whether they are protected or unprotected, to arrest them and collect them together, that they may be conducted by a detachment to this camp, and driven under the walls of Londonderry, where they shall be allowed to starve, in sight of the rebels within the town, unless they choose to open their ports to them," &c. &c. In another paragraph of the same order he desires that INFANTS should be included, and that none of any age whatever should be suffered to escape.

On the second of this month the Derry-men replied, that they had read the Mareschal's threatening letter in their families, and had taken great offence at its contents, by which they could understand that no articles or capitulation could be made with him; that his avowed intention of breaking the protections already granted, proved that no performance of any new promises could be expected from him. They also observed, that the copy of the commission granted to Rosen was dated on the first day of the preceding month of May, after which

time a Parliament had passed an act in Dublin, by which their lives and properties had been declared to be forseited, and that, therefore, they did not consider him duly authorized to treat with them, and desired he would procure another commission.

Upon receiving this answer, Rosen caused his orders to be put into execution, and beginning with the Protestants in the immediate neighbourhood, had them collected in all directions into churches and other public buildings, and some of them into dirty ponds and rotten houses, without fire or light, after having been plundered of their remaining substance and stripped of their clothes. Many old and tender people, some women with child, and feeble children, died by the cruel usage they experienced in these places of confinement, and on their way to Derry. The Irish officers employed in this melancholy service, executed these orders with tears in their eyes, and many of them declared that the cries of these victims of cruelty seemed to ring in their ears ever afterwards. General Hamilton was so shocked at the sight, that in defiance of Rosen, his commanding officer, he ordered meal and other provisions to be distributed among the wretched groups as they passed through the Irish camp. When they first came in sight of the city, they were mistaken for a column of the besieging army advancing to storm it, and to add to their terrors, they were received by a volley of small shot from their friends on the walls, but providentially none were injured by any of the shots, which had no other effect than killing three of the soldiers who were driving them forward with their swords, and pushing on those who, from excessive weakness, were falling behind, or tottering on their emaciated limbs. The first division consisted of some thousands, and the compassion they excited in the garrison venting itself in a universal burst of rage; a gallows was immediately erected for the execution of all the prisoners in the city. In the mean time the news of

Rosen's barbarous proceeding flew to the metropolis, and Doctor Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, went immediately to James to prevail on him to rescind the cruel order; the unfortunate prince coldly replied, that he had heard of it before, and had sent orders to prevent its being executed, and apologizing for Rosen's foreign habits, observed, that this practice, though strange in Ireland, was common in other places; and he might have added, that this persecutor, whom he unwisely continued in his service after this act of barbarous folly, had been employed by the French King to dragoon the Protestants of Languedoc, whom he treated with unparalleled cruelty. General Maumont was his colleague in that anti-christian campaign. The letter, countermanding the driving of the Protestants before Londonderry, was dated on the third of July, and while it required that they should be sent back to their respective habitations without injury, jesuitically approved of the pillaging and ravaging of the country in such a way, as to leave them no habitations to receive them, or means of subsistence to keep them from perishing by hunger. In the mean time the garrison sent a trumpet to the enemy, with notice that they would permit some Popish Priests to come into the city to prepare the prisoners in their own way for that death which inevitably awaited them if the Protestant multitudes around the wall were not permitted to depart. No notice was taken of this message, and the unhappy prisoners, acknowledging the justice of the retaliation of which they were to be the victims, wrote a moving letter to General Hamilton, imploring him to represent their sad condition to Lieutenant-General de Rosen,* to whom they had made an application without receiv-

^{*} Monsieur de Rosen, after his failure to reduce the city of Londonderry, returned to France, to his own great satisfaction, and that of all the officers in the army which he had commanded there. He was a Livonian, and commenced service in France, in the regiment of old General Rosen. His colonel, finding him a man of courage,

ing any answer. They stated their willingness to die like soldiers, with swords in their hands, but entreated that they should be spared the ignominious death of malefactors. The letter was subscribed by another person for Lord Netterville, who had lost some of the fingers of his right hand in the engagement in which he was taken prisoner. It was also signed by Sir Garret Aylmer, the Hon. Captain Butler, Mr. Newcomen, and some others, in the name of the prisoners. Hamilton replied, by order of his commanding officer, that the Protestants, driven under the walls of the city, had to thank themselves for that misfortune; that they had conditions offered them which they might have accepted; that if the Irish prisoners should suffer for this it could not be helped, but that their death would be revenged on many thousands. The writer here confounds those without the walls with their friends within; no terms had been offered to the former; but it is difficult to write an uncandid letter with precision. The garrison was this night reduced to the number of five thousand seven hundred and nine men.

On the second of this month the prisoners taken in the Irish boat by Colonel Murray, on the eighteenth of June, were sent

made him an officer, and at last married his daughter to him. By these steps he was enabled to advance himself through the several subordinate ranks, and came to be a Lieutenant-General of the French cavalry.

He was an excellent officer, of great bravery and application, very fit to be at the head of a wing, but not capable of commanding an army, because he was always in fear of accidents.

In society he was of a very obliging carriage, and magnificent in his style of living; but subject to passion even to a degree of madness, and at these times he was incapable of listening to any representations. He was made Marshal of France in 1703, and seeing that they would not trust him at the head of an army, he retired to an estate he had in Alsace, where he died in the year 1714, at the age of eighty seven.

to bury those who had been killed at the Wind-mill and the bog, nearly a month before. This delay in burying the dead must have contributed much to increase the sickness, which now began to prove dreadfully fatal both to the besieged and the besiegers. The prisoners, who were of Clancarty's regiment, performed this unpleasant duty, and returned to their place of confinement in the new gate.

About this time Mr. Andrew Robinson left the city, but on account of some imprudent words he spoke among them, the enemy stripped him and sent him back again. Captain William Beatty, who, in all the encounters and skirmishes with the enemy, had ever behaved himself with great integrity and valour, was also obliged, by a violent dysentery, to accept of a protection from the enemy, and he retired to Moneymore. In this neighbourhood he lived to rear twelve sons to manhood, one of whom was Mr. James Beatty, a merchant in Newry, and another, Vincent, the father of the late Ross Beatty, of Clones, in the county of Monaghan, and of the late Mr. James Beatty, of the Waterside of Londonderry.

On the third day of this month one thousand was added to the number of afflicted Protestants driven under the walls. Many of them were taken into the garrison by their friends, contrary to orders, and relieved with food and clothing. One of these delivered a message to the city from Kirk's fleet, desiring the garrison, if in great necessity, to make two fires upon the church, which was instantly done, and they were kept burning during the whole of the night, in the course of which, and the day preceding it, thirty bomb-shells were thrown into the city. One of these fell into the chimney of the house in which Captain Ash was quartered; it broke open the hearth, threw down some partitions, windows and doors, but did no other injury. The besieged took the opportunity which presented itself this day, to crowd five hundred of their useless people among the Protestants under the walls, and to

supply their place took in some young and able-bodied men. The stratagem succeeded, although the enemy suspected their design, and some of them pretended to distinguish the Derrymen by that smell which proceeds from those who have been long in confinement, without the necessary change of garments.

About this time a numerous and well appointed army from the province of Munster, under the command of Justin M'Carty, lately created Lord Viscount Mountcashel, arrived at Belturbet, where it was joined by a body of Northern Papists, commanded by Cohonaght More Maguire. This united force amounted in number to 7000 men, who, according to a preconcerted plan, were to attack the Enniskilleners on the south, while Sarsfield, with another army, pressed on them from the west, and the Duke of Berwick, who lay encamped at Trillick, came upon them from the north. An account, however, came to them on the third of the month from General Kirk, which tended to revive their spirits at a time, when their enemies had reason to suppose that, being encompassed as it were in a net, all possibility of escape was cut off from them. A ship had been sent round from Lough Swilly to Ballyshannon, for the purpose of ascertaining the wants of the garrison at Enniskillen, and offer them a supply of ammunition or any other necessaries. This was a most acceptable message, for although the soldiers there were tolerably well supplied with arms, from the stores they had taken from Colonel Sutherland, yet they had but little gunpowder, an article indispensable to their safety at this time. Colonel Lloyd, Captain Francis Gore, and Hugh Montgomery, with the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, were sent on the fourth day of July with some troops of horse and companies of foot, to guard what ammunition they should get, and to give Captain Hobson, the commander of the vessel, an account of the state and condition of their town, and the country about it. This day, in the absence of Mr. Hamilton,

the Duke of Berwick came to his dwelling house with two regiments of foot and as many regiments of dragoons; they plundered and burned it to the ground, and then destroyed all the houses of his tenantry, expressing their regret at not having found himself, "to make meat of his flesh for their hawks," in revenge for the horses which had been taken from them at Omagh some time before, as they alleged, by his contrivance. This was a surprise upon the Enniskilleners, in the absence of their gallant Lloyd and a considerable proportion of their force. The Governor came on the same night to Mr. Hamilton's ruined habitation, after the enemy had gone from it, and his party not being strong enough to follow and attack them in their quarters, he returned to Enniskillen, ordering strong guards to be kept on all the roads from Trillick to that town.

In the mean time a promiscuous crowd of unfortunate Protestants lay in a state of extreme misery around the walls of Londonderry, and whilst famine and disease preyed upon their vitals, such was the spirit which animated them, that they raised their faltering voices to their friends upon the walls, desiring them not to regard their sufferings, but to permit them to perish rather than surrender themselves to the mercy of a perfidious foe.

Great animosities now arose in the Irish camp on account of this cruel treatment of the protected Protestants. The few of that persuasion in the army resented it highly, whilst almost all the Romish officers condemned it as a base device of their French allies, whom they began to detest, in resentment for the contemptuous treatment they received from them. These circumstances, with James's letter condemning the order, and above all, the view of the gallows erected on the walls of the city for the execution of the Irish prisoners, obliged Rosen, on the fourth of July, to suffer the afflicted multitude, amounting to more than four thousand in number, to depart for their re-

spective habitations. Several hundreds of them, however, died on the spot to which they had been driven, and among them many women with child, or lately delivered; several old distressed creatures, and a great number of children. Of those who were this day liberated from durance, many died on their way home, or were knocked on the head by the soldiers, and those who got back to their former place of dwelling, found their homes either burned or plundered by Rosen's soldiers or the Irish-rapparees, so that a great proportion of them afterwards perished for want of the necessaries of life.

This violation of protections was not confined to the persons who had been thus driven under the walls of Londonderry; many of the inhabitants of the county of Down, though they had purchased protections, and lived inoffensively, were plundered of all their substance; and to complete their misery, the Irish soldiers violated several of their wives and daughters. On complaint being made of these brutal outrages, the answer they received was, that these robbers and ravishers had no authority for what they had done, and that any further attempt they should make might be opposed by force. Satisfied with this answer, the unhappy sufferers resolved to defend themselves as they had been permitted to do, but happening to kill some of their assailants, they were immediately denounced as rebels, and Major-General Buchan was sent against them with a body of troops. A massacre ensued, which lasted for several days, in the course of which five or six hundred of them were killed in cold blood. Many of the victims were poor, aged and weakly people; some killed at their work, when suspecting no danger near them. A representation was made of this cruel proceeding to James at his Court in Dublin, but so far from resenting it, or ordering the perpetrators of the massacre to be punished, he railed against the Protestants in general, as false perfidious rebels. They have been killed, he said, with my protections in their pockets; words inconsiderately

spoken, for who could afterwards set any value upon these protections, or treat with him on the usual terms of civilized warfare?

As soon as the Protestants were removed by the besieging army from the neighbourhood of Londonderry, the garrison took down the gallows they had erected, and the prisoners in the city were sent back to their respective lodgings. At this time Governor Walker got intimation from a friend in the enemy's camp, that some mischief was intended against him, and he soon afterwards discovered that the soldiers had been persuaded not only that he had secreted a considerable quantity of provisions, which ought to have been sent to the public store, but that he had pledged himself, on the promise of some great preferment, to betray the city to the enemy.

With respect to the first of these charges, he readily refuted it, by causing a strict search to be made in his house; and as to the second, he cast off the foul imputation, by arresting a Mr. Cole, who, in the preceding month of May, had obtained leave to pass from the enemy's camp into the city, by taking charge of a proposal from General Hamilton to Mr. Walker, which he never delivered, his object in bearing it being only to effect his escape. Cole had casually mentioned this circumstance in the garrison, and Walker's enemies magnified it into a plot for surrendering the city. They indicated their suspicions to the Governor by saluting him with high names and titles, whenever they met him, and would probably have kindled a dangerous mutiny in the garrison, had not Cole, on his public examination, unriddled the mystery, and restored the confidence of the men of Londonderry in their faithful Governor. In the mean time the guards upon the out-works had several conferences with parties of the enemy, who frequently expressed their utter detestation of the French officers and soldiers, cursing the fellows who walked in trunks, as they

called their jack-boots, and got all the preferments which were disposed of in the army.

From the first of this month to the termination of the siege, the officers on duty in the city were appointed to assemble in four several parts of it, and remain there all night. The Colonels, Majors, and Captains, at Governor Mitchelburn's; the Lieutenants at Mr. Buchanan's; the Ensigns at the Bishop's; and the Serjeants at Mr. Stewart's. They went their rounds by turns, and the soldiers of each company staid at their quarters, except such as were absent on out-guards, with their clothes and arms, standing in rank round the quarters, and a candle burning all night. The officers were allowed candles, tobacco, pipes, and Adam's ale, as Captain Ash calls the water they drank; and at four o'clock every morning two great guns were fired against the enemy, serving at the same time as a signal, that the regulars who were on duty during the night might retire to rest, and that their places should be taken by the volunteers and unenlisted inhabitants, to remain on the wall till seven o'clock.

Nine shells were thrown into the city on the fifth of July, which injured some houses, and raised a few dead bodies from their graves. About the sixth or seventh, Governor Mitchelburn observing but few men about the camp of the besiegers, drew out a body of the garrison beyond the lines at the Windmill, where they had some skirmishes with the enemy, in which action an Irish colonel was mortally wounded; but night coming on, and the salliers having got into some confusion, from mistaking a word of command, they retired back to the city. A loud huzza was about this time heard in all the camps of the enemy round the city, and care was taken to inform the besieged that it was for joy on the taking of Enniskillen. This, however, was one of the many false reports circulated by an enemy depending upon artifice and fraud rather than valour and skill, for the attainment of their pur-

poses; the men of Enniskillen, so far from surrendering, were at this time strengthening themselves by conveying to their stores thirty barrels of gunpowder, with some arms, from the ship Bonadventure, commanded by Captain Hobson, and sent to their relief by General Kirk. The arms they left in the garrison of Ballyshannon, and sent the Rev. Andrew Hamilton and Mr. John Rider, in the Bonadventure, to the English fleet, for the purpose of obtaining more ammunition, together with some experienced officers, and a reinforcement of common soldiers.

Mareschal De Rosen wrote the following letter this day to the unfortunate Prince, his master, exhibiting a description of the wretchedness of the besieging army at this time:—

" Camp before Londonderry, 5th July, 1689.

"Sire,—I am grieved to see so little attention given to the execution of your Majesty' orders, at a time when matters are become troublesome and embarrassed. Kirk is always at his post, waiting the arrival of three regiments of cavalry and two of infantry, which are to join him under the command of Charles Count Schomberg. There is no doubt but this expectation has kept him from making any attempt to throw provisions into Derry, as he might easily have done by hazarding some vessels for that end; yet your troops which have been lately sent, have arrived almost in the same condition with the former, having been obliged to take such arms with them as were given them, the greater part of which are damaged and broken, and accordingly useless, as you have not in all your army a single gunsmith to mend them!

"The troops which are here with Hamilton, are in a still worse condition, and the regiments entirely lost and ruined; the strongest battalion having but two hundred men, and more than two-thirds of them without swords, belts, or bandaliers. The cavalry and dragoons are not the better that they are more numerous, as the strongest company has not more than twelve or fourteen treopers able to serve. The river which divides your army, and prevents a communication, diminishes its strength considerably. The detachment under the Duke of Berwick's command, being more than thirty miles from this place, weakens it entirely, as he cannot leave the post which he has been

obliged to take, without allowing the Enniskilleners to possess it, and shut us up behind. All this, Sire, together with the embarrassment of the artillery and carriages which are here, with very little means of conveying them in a country where one is necessarily obliged to go by the one road, which is very bad, should now induce you Majesty to adopt a measure which is of the utmost consequence to the good of your service. It is only for this reason I humbly beseech you to consider this maturely, and to send me instantly your orders about what we should do, as I had already the honour to ask in my two last letters, to which I have yet received no answer.

"I cannot comprehend how the regiment of Walter Butler could be sent away from Dublin without swords, and without powder and ball. I am still more surprised that Bagnal's regiment has been employed to escort the treasure, without giving them a single shot, although, as the officers told me, they frequently asked, without being able to obtain any; yet, Sire, they both of them marched two days quite close to the garrison of Enniskillen, in danger of falling a prey to them. The garrison of Belturbet is in the same situation, having had, as Sutherland told me, but little powder, and not a single ball. My heart bleeds, Sire, when I reflect on the continuance of this negligence, since it appears to me, that no one is in pain about the ruin of your. affairs. I hope that the return of this express will bring me your Majesty's ultimate orders; and I wish they may arrive in time enough for me to put them properly in execution; having no other object but to show you my zeal and attachment for your service, because I am, with a very profound respect, submission and loyalty, your Majesty's, &c. &c. &c. CONRAD DE ROSEN."

Six bombs were thrown on the next day into Londonderry; and they killed one man and wounded many others. On Sunday, the seventh, eighteen shells fell within the walls, and it was observed that until this time no shells were thrown upon the Sabbath, although the enemy, in other respects, according to their French and Irish habits, regarded it very little. On the eighth, they discharged fourteen bombs at the city, one of which broke an ensign's leg at the Butcher's gate. A ball, weighing fourteen pounds, passing through the gate, killed a man in the street. In the course of this night, the Governors ordered large pieces of timber to be reared against the outside

of the gate, to secure it against the battering pieces. The garrison was now reduced to five thousand five hundred and twenty men, having lost within the six preceding days, no less than one hundred and eighty-nine men by death or departure from the city. On the ninth, the battering guns played hotly against the Butcher's gate, and shattered it very much. Some of the balls flew over the town and fell into the river. In the course of the night, more timber was set up outside this gate, and all the officers who were there assisted the soldiers and others in carrying sods to it from Ferry-quay gate. The allowance this day was a pound of tallow, dignified by the name of French butter, to every soldier in the garrison. They mixed it with meal, ginger, pepper, and aniseeds, and made excellent pan-cakes. Charming meat, says Captain Ash, for during the preceding fortnight horse-flesh was eaten, and at this time the carcase of a dog was reckoned good meat. The pale and emaciated victims of hunger were every day seen collecting wild vegetables and weeds, and all kinds of sea wreck, which they devoured greedily, to the total ruin of their health. The historical drama already quoted, exhibits a scene in the distressed city at this time, calculated to make a deep impression on the mind, and characterizing the good humour with which some of the severest sufferings of human nature were borne by the heroic defenders of Londonderry.

A servant entering sets down a table, and placing two or three dishes on it, brings chairs for the company, which consists of Mitchelburn, Walker, and four Amazons, who had distinguished themselves by many acts of heroism during the siege. Mitchelburn then addresses them in the following words:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen, this present coming so opportunely, I invite you all to a bottle of wine, sent to me by General Hamilton, together with such other entertainment for eating as our present circumstances will admit of. The first dish

you see in slices is the liver of one of the enemy's horses, that was killed the other day; it is very good meat with pepper and salt, eaten cold. I have seven of these livers boiled, and after they are pickled they eat very well. This other is horse's blood fried with French butter, otherwise tallow, and thickened with oaten-meal. The third dish is what we call in French, ragout de chien, in English, a ragout of the haunch of my dog; it does not eat so well boiled as roasted; it is something strong, but it eats best when baked. I have a horse's head in the oven, very well seasoned, but it will not be eatable until night. Give me a glass of wine, and I'll drink the ladies' health.—[Amazon pulls half a biscuit out of her pocket.]

Amazon.—"Pray, Sir, accept of this; it was given me this morning by our captive captain.

Mitchelburn.—"By no means, Madam, I'll not rob you of so great a dainty.

Enter a Servant with a letter from Lord Berkshire, which the Governor reads.

"Sir,—Mareschal de Rosen and Lieutenant-General Hamilton highly approve of your conduct. They made choice of me, as an acquaintance of yours, to send you this letter, to let you know that they are very sensible of the circumstances you are in, and so unfortunate as to engage in a service which will prove your utter ruin. You have now a fair opportunity to retrieve your former mistakes, and prove loyal; and Mareschal de Rosen and General Hamilton, and myself, will engage you shall have a suitable reward, and good preferment, which is to put Londonderry into our hands, it having retarded the great success of his Majesty's arms both in England and Scotland. Let this be speedily complied with, your proposals shall be readily granted, and sent back signed and sealed by both Generals; ten thousand pounds in bills, to be paid you either in England or Ireland, for this great service. "BERKSHIRE."

Governor.—"I'll send an answer to this immediately.—

[Sits down and writes, and afterwards reads his answer.]

"Sir,—I perused yours, and am very much obliged to Mareschal De Rosen and General Hamilton, for their good opinion of my conduct; if theirs had been as good they would have been masters of this town long since. It is our great happiness to meet such an easy enemy. I very well know of what importance the place is to the Protestants of Ireland, and to my master, King William, whom I now serve; he is capable of rewarding me, and those under my command, without paying us in brass money. As for the ten thousand pounds, I value them not a pin, and if your king would give me the church full of gold and silver, I will never betray my country's cause. I have engaged my honour for the performance, and my word of honour I will keep.—Farewell.

"JOHN MITCHELBURN."

Enter a SERVANT.

Servant.—"Here, Sir, is a letter from General Kirk, on ship-board. All things go on well in England, and for God's sake husband your provisions well, and you will be relieved in a short time.

Mitchelburn.—" Campbell, go and write as melancholy a letter as you can; let the Major General know that we are starving, and nothing lest us but a few horses, which will not last above a week; when they are eaten we shall be destroyed. Tell him, as he values his own honour and reputation, not to suffer us to be lost for a little bread.

Enter Two Soldiers, running across the stage, having a Spaniel Dog by the two hind legs.

Mitchelburn.—" What's that the soldiers have?

Town Major .- "A dog, which they are going to eat.

Mitchelburn.—"I took it to be a kid; it made my teeth to water.

Enter another Soldier with a Cat,—he runs across the stage making her cry.

Walker.—"These soldiers hunt up and down the town for dogs and cats, as cats do for mice.

Enter another Soldier with Mitchelburn's mastiff Dog on his back, suspended by the two hind legs.

Mitchelburn.—"Hold, brother soldier, you should give me some share of that dog.—[The Governor whistles, the soldier drops the dog, and both run away.] Sure the dogs must be very poor, for the people can get nothing to eat, and what must_feed the dogs?

Town-Major.—"The dogs go in the night, and tear up the graves, and feed on the dead bodies, which fatten them extremely, and as soon as they are fat we eat them. We have an excellent way of dressing them, seasoned with pepper and salt, and baking the flesh with decayed wine which we get in the merchants' cellars.

Mitchelburn.—"Alas, that gold cannot procure us bread! These soldiers have eaten all the dogs and cats in the town, and if not immediately relieved, we must give up the prisoners to be devoured by them next. Better would it be for them to be eaten at once than to lie languishing and starving in a dungeon. We have gold enough, but what does it signify; it would not afford us one morsel of bread.—[He takes out his purse and puts a piece of gold in his mouth.] There is no relish or comfort in it, more than in a stone; a piece of leather has more sustenance; yet this is what the world admires, and by which it is governed."—[Takes out his purse and throws it against the wall.]

This day Bryan Macmahon and Hugh Macmahon were elected members of the pretended House of Commons for the county of Monaghan. Fermanagh sent no members to it, and Sir Albert Conyngham, then resident on his estate at Mount-Charles, kept the Papists of the county of Donegal in such order, that no members were sent from any part of it except St. Johnstown, then garrisoned by James's army: Sir Wm.

Ellis and Lieutenant-Colonel James Nugent, two gentlemen entirely unconnected with the county, were elected to represent that borough. Sir Albert Cunningham raised a regiment of dragoons at his own expense, which did good service in the course of the war, but was not engaged in the defence of Londonderry or Enniskillen.

On the morning of the tenth of July ten shells were thrown into Londonderry; some of them fell into the old church and opened many of the graves. In one of them, which is now in the possession of William Marshall, Esq., Secretary to the North-West Society, there was no gunpowder; it contained several copies of the following address:—

TO THE SOLDIERS AND INHABITANTS OF DERRY.

"The conditions offered by Lieutenant-General Hamilton are sincere. The power he hath of the king is real; be no longer imposed upon by such as tell you the contrary; you cannot be ignorant of the king's elemency towards his subjects. Such of you as choose to serve his Majesty shall be entertained, without distinction, in point of religion. If any choose to leave the kingdom they shall have passes. You shall be restored to your estates and livings, and have free liberty of religion whatsoever it be. If you doubt the powers given to General Hamilton by the king, twenty of you may come and see the patent, with freedom under the king's hand and seal. Be not obstinate against your natural prince; expose yourselves no longer to the miseries you undergo, which will grow worse and worse if you continue to be opinionate; for it will be too late to accept of the offer now made, when your condition is so low that you cannot resist the king's forces longer.—July 10th, 1689."

No reply was made to this proposal. This day Rosen wrote to the deluded prince, informing him that he had received eighty wagons, five of which were loaded with swords without belts, and observing that the soldiers would be obliged to carry them constantly in their hands. The other wagons were loaded with powder, ball, &c., and twenty thousand pounds in silver. This convoy was sent from Dublin to Lon-

donderry, escorted only by a quartermaster and twelve troopers, and it lay for three nights within sight of Enniskillen. On the same day a regiment of Irish infantry, with some Scottish officers, embarked at Carricksergus in three frigates, commanded by Monsieur Du Quesne, who, in a few hours afterwards, meeting with two privateers, captured them, after an hour's hard fighting, with the loss of some of the Scotch officers, who were killed. Du Quesne, putting some of his equipage on board of one of them, sent it to Dublin, and proceeded on his course for Scotland, where he safely landed the men he had on board, and this reinforcement, small as it was, proved a great encouragement to Lord Dundee, in raising the Highlanders to make one great effort in the cause of the unfortunate James. The French officer who commanded the two prizes sent by Du Quesne to Dublin, captured another on his passage, which had been employed to carry letters from Marshal Schomberg to General Kirk and other persons. By these letters, it appears that King William intended to send an army of twelve thousand men for the relief of Londonderry, upon which the following observation is made in the Life of James II .:--

"Effectual order will be taken that this descent shall not find us unprovided; for Derry is vigorously attacked, and Kirk, seeing that he could get no succour into the place, has landed at a little island three miles distant from it, where he is intrenched in expectation of succour from England. In the mean time the rebels at Enniskillen are straitened on all sides, and the Duke of Berwick, in a little rencontre he had lately with them, has cut two companies of foot to pieces, and taken several prisoners."

The latter part of this passage contains a specimen of the many falsehoods and exaggerations conveyed to the ear of this deluded prince, by the hordes of flatterers surrounding him; this cutting of two companies to pieces, as already mentioned, was but the killing of five-and-twenty men, and the

wounding of some others, with the loss of twenty-six prisoners by the Enniskilleners, in what they termed the action of Corenegrade, on or about the seventh of July.

The besieging army demanding a parley with the defenders of Londonderry on the eleventh of July, the latter thought it advisable to grant it, and treat for a surrender of the city. Most of the ships they expected to relieve them had disappeared, provisions were growing extremely scarce, and therefore it was an object to gain time by the negotiation. Six commissioners were chosen on each side, and Saturday, the thirteenth, was appointed as the day of meeting for arranging the terms of the treaty. Colonel Hugh Hamill, and Thomas Lance, Captains White and Dobbin, Matthew Cocken, Esq., and Mr. John Mackinzie, were appointed commissioners on the part of the city; Colonels Sheldon, Gordon O'Neill, Sir Neil O'Neill, and Sir Edward Vaudry, Lieutenant-Colonel Skelton, and Captain Francis Morrow, were nominated on the Irish side. While this matter was occupying the attention of the officers and chief men of the city, a ball came through one of the pieces of timber which barricaded the outside of Butchers'-gate, and killed a man in the street. In the evening the Governors drew five or six out of each company, and sent them towards a trench near the gallows, to alarm the enemy, and ascertain if there were any great number of them in the camp. On perceiving this movement, General Buchan led his men down to the ditches at the gallows, which he lined with them, as those who had sallied from the city were approaching with colours flying; upon which Governor Mitchelburn commanded his men to retire within the trenches, but not before some of the enemy came over the ditches and fired a few shots at them. This detachment from the city did not behave with the spirit which characterized every other body of men that sallied from it during the siege. After a short pause they dropped off, one-after another, towards Bishop's-gate, nor

would they, or any of them, return to the position they had left, notwithstanding the orders of the Governors or their officers, but stood pushing and thronging each other at the gate, which was kept shut for a long time, in order to force them to go back. All efforts to compel them to do so proved ineffectual, and they got into the city in a most unsoldierlike manner. This night four shells fell in the city, but did no damage. In this and the two preceding days, the report of several pieces of cannon in Lough Swilly, excited a strong sensation of hope in the distressed city.

Next day, being the twelfth of July, the inside of Butchers'gate was secured by heaps of sods and stones, to repel the balls from the heavy battery which almost constantly assailed it. An ensign and thirteen Irish prisoners were humanely liberated this evening, who, while their guards were weak with hunger, had been in danger of losing their lives from the same dreadful cause. This day the Rev. Andrew Hamilton and Mr. John Rider arrived at the English fleet, and went on board Major-General Kirk's vessel. They spent two days with that officer, giving him an account of the state of affairs at Enniskillen, in which, at that time, were about seventeen troops of horse, thirty companies of foot, and some few troops of dragoons. The foot were tolerably well armed, which was not the case with the horse and dragoons. Kirk had but few arms fit for horsemen, but he gave these gentlemen twenty additional barrels of gunpowder, six hundred firelocks, and a thousand muskets, together with bullets and match proportionable, eight small pieces of cannon, and a few hand grenades. He also gave them commissions for a regiment of horse, consisting of sixteen troops, to contain fifty private men in each troop, besides officers for a regiment of dragoons, consisting of twelve troops, with the same number of men in each; and for three regiments of foot, and an independent troop of horse to be attached to each regiment; each regiment of foot to consist

of eighteen companies, whereof two companies were to be grenadiers, and sixty private men in each company. Kirk had no private men to spare, but sent the Enniskillers some very good officers, viz. William Wolseley, Esq., to be commander-in-chief, and colonel of their horse; Captain William Berry, to be lieutenant-colonel of horse; and Colonel James Wynne, a gentleman of Ireland, to command the dragoons.

Gustavus Hamilton, Governor of Enniskillen, was appointed colonel of the first of the three regiments of foot; Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd and Major Tiffen, had the command of the other two. Captain Thomas Price, who had also a troop of horse, was appointed major-general, and Captain Johnston, who had charge of a company of foot, was nominated engineer. Kirk lay under heavy censure for his delay respecting the relief of Londonderry; but Mr. Hamilton, one of the messengers on this important occasion, does him the justice to say, that as soon as he had been informed of the condition of the garrison of Enniskillen, of which he had been previously ignorant, he granted all that was asked from him, and no man could have shown more zeal than he did for the service of King William, and the preservation of the Protestants.

On the thirteenth the commissioners on the English and Irish side assembled near the out-works of Londonderry, for the purpose of negotiating a surrender of the city. They all dined together in a tent which had been pitched for the occasion, and debated till night. The besiegers, although they consented to all that was material in the articles proposed by the garrison, would grant no longer time for the surrender than till two o'clock on the next day but one, Monday the fifteenth. They required their hostages to be kept in the city, without being sent, as the besieged required, to the English fleet, and they would allow no arms to be kept, on marching out, except by the officers and gentlemen of the city. The Derry com-

missioners returned to the garrison late in the evening, after having, with great difficulty, obtained time till the next day, at twelve o'clock, to return an answer. Immediately after they got back, Governor Walker received a letter, carried by a little boy from the fleet. It was written by Lieutenant David Mitchell, who stated that Major-General Kirk had formed an encampment on the island of Inch. Walker, to encourage the garrison to hold out, transcribed the letter, and specified that this encampment consisted of four thousand horse and nine thousand foot. Mackinzie accuses him of acting with great inconsistency, by advising a surrender, after this manœuvre to prevent one; but his apparent prejudice against that great man, and the silence of the gallant Captain Ash on the subject, render this accusation nugatory. Walker is not the only man who voted for a measure which he had resolved to frustrate.

Mitchelburn desired the usual signal should be made, and accordingly on the next morning, before the council met, at eight o'clock, to decide upon the answer to be sent to the Irish army, seven guns were discharged from the steeple of the cathedral. Three more were fired at twelve o'clock, and at nightfall a lantern, with a strong light in it, was set upon the pole which bore the flag. After some debate, the council returned their answer to the besiegers, that unless they should get time till Wednesday, the twenty-sixth of July, and that the hostages were in the mean time secured on board the English fleet, THEY WOULD NOT SURRENDER; as to the manner of their marching out, they left that to be debated by their commissioners. The enemy refused at once to grant these terms, and so the treaty ended, the garrison having gained that time by it upon which they had calculated. So incensed were the Irish at this disappointment of their hopes, that they scarce allowed the commissioners to get within the Derry lines, when they vented their anger, by a heavy cannonade from their

bombs and mortars; but their fury, as usual, was greater than their precision, and on this day, though exceedingly loud, did very little mischief.

Next morning General Hamilton wrote to the Earl of Melfort, informing him that two packets from the Prince of Orange to General Kirk had been taken in a Whitehaven vessel, from which it appeared, that a great force had been embarked at Liverpool and Chester for the relief of Londonderry. Eight shells fell in the city to-day; and in the evening about one thousand of the besiegers marched to the hill above the strand, which caused the Governors to suppose they would attempt to force the guard at the wind-mill. They therefore commanded a strong party to be marched against them, which they immediately reinforced by others, upon which the enemy halted and fired twelve of their bombs against the city, but without doing any execution whatever. One would suppose that the artillery men in the Irish camp were secretly of the same creed with the Dublin gun-smiths, and as unwilling to practise their destructive art against "the northern heretics." It is certain that there was at this time great disaffection and treachery to James in his army before Derry; a new sun was rising to meridian glory in the political hemisphere, and the chilling shades of a long night were gathering fast around the old one.

"The cannon from Tamnemore, on the opposite side of the river, however, killed one of Captain Gordon's men, between the Wind-mill and the city; after which the enemy retreated to their camp, from which the cannonade recommenced after a short pause.

On the sixteenth four bombs were discharged against the town, and there is no record of any damage having been done by them. A considerable quantity of timber which had been outside the Butchers' and Ferry-quay gate was brought in this day, and distributed among the soldiers, who were in great

want of fuel; and a small fort was made of casks filled with clay and sods, near the outer side of the royal bastion, to prevent the enemy from working near the wall. At the hour of ten o'clock, in the morning of this day, a small party of the besiegers attacked the works opposite Butchers'-gate, and none of the garrison happening to be there, soon possessed themselves of them. They were, however, quickly repulsed from the walls, the besieged pelting them with stones taken from some ruined buildings near them. A few of the assailants were killed, and one of them was taken prisoner in this action. In the mean time, two regiments marched out of the Irish camp, towards the works on the Wind-mill hill, but seeing the Derry men advance cheerfully to meet them, they halted when they had got half way down, and marched back to the other side of the park. The soldiers, who had been encouraged to this movement by the gallant Mitchelburn, raised a huzza from one end of the line to the other, waving their hats in vain to invite the foe to come down to them. At the same time, Colonel Murray, with about twelve chosen men, went down to flank the enemy's trench before Butchers'-gate, and continued firing at them till their ammunition was spent, and he was shot through both his thighs, up near the body; the wound proved very dangerous to the life of this distinguished officer, who did not recover of it till the approach of the ensuing winter. One of his men, James Murray, was killed on this occasion; and a few days afterwards he was disturbed in his bed-chamber by a sad accident which occurred there: Lieutenant David Ross entered rudely into the room to search for some saddles, which had been lost by Sir Arthur Rawdon; one of Murray's regiment, who happened to be there at the time, resented the intrusion by some hasty expression; Ross struck him several times across the head with his sword, upon which the dragoon, taking up his carbine, fired at him, and killed him on the spot. Six shells were

thrown into the city this night, and the enemy took away their battering guns to Brook-hall, where they planted them near the boom.

The sixteenth of July now proved as fatal to James's interests in Scotland, as the first and twelfth of the same month, in the two ensuing years turned out in Ireland, although a signal victory was obtained for him on the former of these memorable days. Graham, of Claver-house, Viscount Dundee, having long waited with impatience for the succour promised to him from Ireland, and intercepted by the vigorous defence of Londonderry, gave up all hopes of speedy aid, as soon as he saw the few spiritless recruits which arrived to him from Carrickfergus, without arms, ammunition, or clothing. He therefore resolved to try the fate of a battle, with the forces which he had himself collected; and he was induced to make the attempt without delay, by the approach of General Mackay with King William's army towards the Castle of Blair, in Athole, where he had left a garrison to preserve a communication between the two divisions of the Highlands, in which the chief part of his adherents lay. On the morning of this day he marched from Dunkeld to the mouth of the pass of Killicrankie. The following description of this romantic spot is given by Dr. Whitaker, in his book-De motu per Britanniam Civico, pag. 38, London, 1809 :- "Scilicet eo loci montana Scotiæ primum in juga clementiora, inde in planitiem satis amplam demissa, a meridie rursus in fauces angustissimas subito coarctantur, tanquam provido numinis consilio, claustra ac repagula adversus barbaros futura. Interfluit TUMELLUS amnis, infremens, spumosus. Per medium, ferme clivum pertinet callis vix singulis jam tum permeabilis, nunc militum operâ egregie munitus. Infra usque ad alvum, torrentis, descendunt rupes præruptæ, desuper ubique imminentibus saxis levi momento in subeuntes persolvendis. Ad hæc quacunque per cautes licuerit internatis arboribus, densa subolescunt arbusta, ut per otium intuentibus voluptatem simul et horrorem locus incutiat; KILLICRANKIO nomen est, GRAMIO TAODUNENSIS, Viri fortissimi nece memorabili." Here Dundee rested his men for two hours, after which, adopting the disposition by which Montrose's army carried the battle of Arden, forty-three years before this time, he detached his clans to the right and left, on a mountain which commanded the pass, leaving his centre weak; but concealing the feebleness of it by showing a few men, bonnets, and spears, through the trees and bushes with which that part of the ground was covered. Half an hour before sunset, he rushed down from this position, and impetuously began his attack by columns upon the wings of the enemy, drawn up at the mouth of the pass, after having used many efforts in vain to provoke him to battle in the regular but less advantageous manner.

His close columns rapidly penetrated through the weak files of the opposing flanks of Mackay's army, which soon yielded to an irresistible force suddenly brought into action against them. The contest immediately became a trial of speed, in which Dundee, pressing forward furiously towards the pass to cut off the retreat of the English troops, outstripped his men, and in the violence of his impatience at their delay, turned round suddenly, raising his right hand over his head, as a signal for their advancing, when a random shot from the enemy entered an opening of his armour, and mortally wounded him.*

Dalrymple says he died upon the spot, as soon as a satisfactory answer had been given to his inquiries respecting the extent of his victory. He lived, however, until the next day, and in the course of the night wrote a letter to Lord Melfort,

^{*} The estate of Lord Dundec was granted to the house of Douglas; and his widow and children retired to Holland, where, after her second marriage, they perished by a dreadful calamity; the house in which they resided at Utrecht falling suddenly in upon them, and killing every one of the family.

desiring speedy assistance from Ireland for Goo's sake; and saying that he had been told his wounds were not mortal. A letter was found in his pocket after his death, which afforded a melancholy proof of the infatuation which could cause a Protestant of high spirit and distinguished military character, to sacrifice his life in the cause of a popish tyrant. The letter was written to inform him that a declaration of indemnity for Protestant opponents, and TOLERATION of the reformed religion in Scotland, had been drawn up in such ambiguous terms, that James might break through it whenever he should deem it expedient to-do so. Death must have been a welcome liberation to a gallant Protestant officer, from the degrading service of this bigot. Thus perished the cause of Popery in Scotland; the Highlanders, on the loss of their chieftain, suffered Mackay's army to escape while they were plundering the English baggage. It was to no purpose that two thousand of the latter had been killed, and five hundred taken prisoners. The express which was sent to Edinburgh with an account of the defeat, was detained by some accident for four-and-twenty hours on the way, and when King William heard of that circumstance, he observed, with his characteristic sagacity, that Dundee must have been dead, or he would have been in the metropolis before the express, and that it was unnecessary to send any reinforcement to General Mackay. The Highlanders who composed Dundee's army were engaged in some skirmishes and drawn battles for a campaign or two, when they dispersed, and a peace was concluded.

On the day of the battle of Killicrankie, the English fleet, which had come round from Lough Swilly to the harbour of Culmore, in Lough Foyle, returned to their station off the island of Inch, again severely disappointing the hope of relief which their appearance had kindled among the defenders of Londonderry. A very humiliating task was this day imposed upon the unfortunate James, by his master, Count D'Avaux,

the French ambassador; it was the issuing of a declaration, signed by his secretary, Lord Melfort, that the subjects of the king of France should, as to commercial imposts and encouragements, be treated as Irishmen: that he never would refuse permission to transport wool into France, and had positively forbidden its being sent into England. He also mentioned his compliance with the demands of D'Avaux, relative to the sale of French wines without the payment of duty. This was a precious king for a free commercial country. This one act would warrant his exclusion from the throne, even if the entire population of the realm he forfeited had been members of the Church of Rome.

On the seventeenth of this month the garrison of Londonderry was reduced in number to five thousand one hundred and fourteen men, having lost two hundred during that and the three preceding days; each individual of the army was allowed half-a-pound of oatmeal, the same quantity of shelling, as much tallow, and three pounds of salted hides. According to a credible tradition, a trick was played about this time to deceive the enemy, by the belief that so considerable a quantity of concealed meal had been discovered in some cellars of the city, that no hope could be entertained of their surrendering for want of provisions. One barrel of meal was distributed upon the bottoms of some large empty vessels, turned upside down, and shown in pretended confidence to some messengers who had been sent in from the camp of the besiegers.

General Hamilton wrote this day to Lord Melfort, informing him that the whole of the English fleet which had sailed from Lough Swilly towards England or Scotland, had returned from sea, and was anchored before Ennishowen Point. He also stated that about four hundred of the Protestants being at Ramullen, the Duke of Berwick, then within ten miles of that place, intended to march thither in the middle of the night, and attack them before sunrise. At the same time James wrote

from Dublin to Mareschal De Rosen, informing him that he had received private intelligence, that vessels for transporting cavalry had been made ready at Whitehaven, Chester, and Liverpool, that ladders and other implements for a siege had been put on board ships in the Thames, and that Count De Solmes was to command the expedition. He therefore observed, that it was necessary to execute his design upon Enniskillen without delay, and desired that the siege of Derry should be pressed closely, ordering him to mention a day on which he might expect it would be taken.

Twelve shells were thrown into Derry on the eighteenth of July, and the enemy's battering mortars broke the breastwork of the bastion below Butcher's-gate, which was repaired that night with barrels and sods. In the course of the day a letter arrived in the city, purporting to be from General Kirk, promising to be there very soon with relief. Some doubts which arose about its authenticity were done away by Governor Mitchelburn's knowledge of the General's hand-writing, he having been promoted by him at Tangier. An answer to this letter was returned next day, sewed up in one of the messenger's buttons. A bill passed this day in James's pretended Parliament, vesting the goods of all absentees comprehended under the act of attainder, in the crown. This unjust act was observed to lessen rather than increase the zeal of those employed to plunder the houses and lands of the absent Protestants, because it indemnified them for only half of the amount of their seizures, as scarcely even that proportion of persons whom they had robbed were included in the bill of attainder, which seemed to have chiefly aimed at the possessors of landed property. On the next day this Parliament was prorogued, and never again assembled.

Two and twenty shells were thrown into Londonderry on the nineteenth of this month, and the battering mortars again broke down the breast-work of Butcher's gate. In the mean

time a shot from the garrison killed Monsieur Masse, engineergeneral of the Irish army, shot off the left hand of Captain Bourke, and wounded a gunner and two soldiers who stood near Colonel Waucop. A second discharge killed two private soldiers, and the wind of it passing across Major Geoghegan's face, nearly blinded him. General Hamilton now wrote to Tyrconnel, informing him that the rebels in Derry were still three thousand strong, all good marksmen, and that the entire battalions in the besieging army did not exceed the number of five thousand men. He added, that if the Duke of Berwick should succeed against the Enniskilleners, and join him with the army under his command, he had little doubt of being able to deal with any succours that might arrive from England to the besieged city. On the next day he corrected an error in the account he had given of the number of men in Derry, and stated it to have amounted to five thousand; observing, that as the garrison there had been diminished by sickness and mortality, the besiegers had grown weaker from similar causes. He acknowledged he had exaggerated in his former letter the number of his own army, which fell much short of his statement, and that the English fleet lay between the island of Inch and Ramullen, with the design of collecting as many men as possible in addition to the troops on board, and then sending an army to join the Enniskillen-men. He stated that Mareschal De Rosen was keeping his bed in a fit of ill humour, resolved to meddle with nothing respecting the conduct of the siege, and announced that the besiegers would be shortly in severe want of provisions, as the country about Derry had been drained of all means of supporting an army.

A copy of the depositions of the general officers of the besieging army round Londonderry, on the 20th July, 1689, has been preserved among Nairne's papers:—Chevalier Charles de Carney, rating the garrison at two thousand men and officers, did not think that the besieging army, reduced as it has been

by sickness, was in a condition to force the city to surrender. Brigadier-General Dominick Sheldon was of the same opinion with Carney, but relied on the necessities of the city effecting what the Irish force was not competent to accomplish. General Buchan stated that the town could not be speedily taken on account of a want of cannon, and announced a great diminution of the besieging army from sickness and desertion. Mons. Giradin judiciously recommended that a body of troops should be stationed on the Finn water, to prevent a junction of Kirk's troops with the Enniskilleners; this officer apprehended fatal results from a scarcity of provisions. The Duke of Berwick declared his opinion that it was impossible to take Londonderry by storm, and that no hope of its surrender could be entertained except from their want of provisions. General Hamilton stated that the most essential thing to be done was to prevent the junction of the Enniskillen-men with the troops which had landed at Ramullen, in the county of Donegal, from the English ships, and which were receiving a daily augmentation from the neighbouring country. He added, that the fleet, having left Lough Foyle, was then anchored between the island of Inch and the down of Ramullen, and that the army under the command of the Duke of Berwick could not be more advantageously posted than at Castlefin, where information respecting the movements of the enemy was most likely to be had, and where the most proper measures to oppose them might be adopted. He cautioned Lord Melfort against suffering the apprehended failure of provisions to ruin the army, and mentioned the danger of abandoning the town of Belturbet, in case the Irish force there under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony Hamilton should advance towards Trillick.

At this time, provisions being extremely scarce, Mr. James Cunningham, a merchant in Londonderry, discovered a method for supplying the garrison for six or seven of the severest days of want, not only with food, but most salutary medicine. He

showed them where there was a considerable quantity of starch, which they mixed with tallow, and fried as pancakes. This food proved a providential remedy for the dysentery which prevailed in the city to an alarming degree, from excessive fatigue, mental anxiety, and unwholesome food. This day the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, and his fellow messenger from Enniskillen, left the English fleet with the seasonable supply of arms, ammunition, officers and commissions, which they had obtained from the general on board, who having thus sent effectual aid to the Enniskilleners, proceeded himself in the Swallow frigate, accompanied by the Mountjoy and other store-ships, with the intention of throwing a relief into Londonderry. Oatmeal, which before the siege was to be had for four pence, was now sold at six shillings a peck; butter for five pence an ounce, and all other food that could be procured, was proportionably dear. Captain Ash mentions a poor man whom hunger had, at this melancholy time, compelled to kill his dog and dress the flesh to satisfy the importunate cravings of his stomach. Just as he was about to feast on this rarity, an inexerable creditor, equally hungry, came in to demand a debt, which he was unable to pay in any other way than by resigning the carcase of the dead dog to the unbidden guest, which he did with a languishing and rueful countenance. This was a transaction in which pomp might find physic, and an epicure be taught the value of plain food. A proclamation was issued in Dublin this day, by James himself, expressly forbidding Protestants to wear or keep any swords, under the penalty of being counted rebels, and used as such.

On the twenty-first, a considerable portion of the besieging army was seen from Derry marching towards the island of Inch, and almost all their tents at Enoch, on the eastern side of the Foyle, were taken away. Captain Ash calculated that from the twenty-fourth of April to this day, no less than five hundred and eighty shells were thrown into the city.

In this month, three additional companies of Popish soldiers were raised for the defence of the town of Galway, and the following officers were appointed to command them, viz:—Stephen Lynch Fitz Nicholas, Martin French Fitzpeter, Alexander French and Dominick Kirwan, Captains; Christopher Lynch Fitzpeter, James Lynch Fitz Dominick, William Lynch Fitz Andrew, and Francis Lynch Fitz William, Lieutenants; William Vaughan, Francis Kirwin, Thomas Ryan, and Peter Heyne, Ensigns. The Protestant inhabitants were immediately afterwards removed by the Governor to the west suburbs, for the better security of the town.

On the twenty-second, the garrison of Londondery was reduced to the number of four thousand nine hundred and seventy-three, having lost one hundred and forty-one men in three days. Two of the enemy's battering pieces discharged above forty shots against the city. One of these sent in a nineteen and another a fourteen pound ball, which killed some persons who lay in garrets, and wounded many others. This day a boy arrived with a verbal message from the Island of Inch, stating that the officers had been sent from that place to Enniskillen for the purpose of landing the Protestant army at that town, to form a junction with the English forces, and then proceed to raise the siege of Derry. He said that the relief might be expected in a few days. The messenger who had been sent from Derry on the preceding Friday, was presented with an ensign's commission by General Kirk. The allowance to each soldier in the garrison on this day was half a pound of starch, with the same weight of tallow, one pound of aniseeds being divided among each company, consisting of sixty men.

A letter was this day written by James from his court in the castle of Dublin, to Mareschal de Rosen, of which that officer sent a copy to General Hamilton, ordering the country round Londonderry to be laid waste, and sent such a reinforcement

to the Duke of Berwick as would enable him to attack the Enniskilleners. In another letter of the same date, he commanded General Hamilton to raise the siege, if he did not think a blockade would reduce it; he ordered one Burton, an engineer, to go to Charlemont, observing, that engineers appeared to be of small use against Derry, and charging his army, in case the siege should be raised, to blow up the fort of Culmore, that it should not stand in his way at another time.

This day Captain Chichester Fortescue, of Donaghmore, in the county of Down, reckoned one of the best swordsmen in Ireland, died in Derry of a dysentery. He had raised a troop of dragoons at his own expense, and brought them there, after he had been plundered of his chattels, and driven from his residence by the Irish rapparees. His wife and children had been separated from him in the month of March, at the breach of Dromore, from which place they fled into the Isle of Man, where they lived in great distress. He was the grandfather of Chichester Fortescue, of Dromisken, in the county of Louth, member of parliament for the borough of Irvine in 1747.

On the twenty-third the Irish battering pieces killed two brothers, as they lay in a garret in Bishop's-street, and injured many houses. At the same time a plot was discovered for seizing the gunners, nailing up the cannon, and surrendering the city. It was instantly frustrated, and two of the principal contrivers of it were cast into prison on a charge of high treason. During this and the two preceding days, a court martial was held for punishing misdemeanours in the city. Captain Robert White was president, and the other members of it were Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, Majors J. Dobbin and Alexander Stuart, with Captains Crook, Godfrey, Johnston, Downing, Ash, Thompson, Cochran, and Dobbin. In this court, the store-keeper, and those concerned with the excise and the city rent, were called to an account, and the money got from them

was applied for the mending of the fire-arms, &c. One pound of wheat and the same quantity of grits were this day given to each of the officers of the garrison.

On the twenty-fourth it was resolved, by a council of war, that five hundred men should sally out of the city at four o'clock next morning, and drive in some cattle that were grazing between the out-posts and Pennyburn-mill. All the officers were bound to secrecy until the business should be accomplished. The court martial ordered that all the black cattle in the garrison should be killed for the use of the soldiers. In the evening two ships came up to Culmore. This day, says Captain Ash, six shillings were offered for the flesh of a dog, and horses and cats were eaten. In the course of the night a serjeant and a private soldier deserted to the enemy, with their arms and clothes. The garrison was reduced to the number of four thousand eight hundred and ninety-two on the twenty-fifth of this month, having lost eighty-one men in three days. At three o'clock this morning, the pass-word agreed upon being ORANGE, two hundred of the garrison sallied from Ship-quay gate, while eleven hundred remained within the ravine for a reserve. Some of the soldiers also sallied, at the same time, from Bishop's-gate, but the number of them has not been recorded. Those who went out from Shipquay-gate were commanded by Captain Francis Wilson, Lieutenant Moore, and Serjeant Neely: those who issued from Butcher's-gate were led by Captains A. Hamilton, Burly, and Ash. They promptly flanked the ditches which ran through the orchard, at both ends, according to the orders they had previously received, upon which the enemy got into disorder and fled in confusion; so little did they expect so vigorous an attack from a body of men whom they supposed to have been perishing by hunger, fatigue, and disease, and they were completely surprised, not having even one of their matches kindled. Three hundred of their men and officers were killed; and the execution would have been much greater had not the victors been so weakened from hunger, as to be unable to make the pursuit as vigorously as the attack had been. Many of them were so feeble as to fall in the attempt to make a blow-Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Fitzgerald and some other Irish officers were killed, and Captain Nugent, Ensign McCarty, and upwards of sixty of the besiegers were wounded. The party at Bishop's-gate did not come out till the others were in action, but they did good service, under the command of Captains Blair and Dixon, and Lieutenant Boyd.

The enemy on the hill seeing their men quit the trench, came hastily down, and obliged the salliers, weak and wearied as they were, to retire within their trenches at Bishop's-gate. They missed the prey which had attracted them, for on the moment of their appearance the Irish drove their cattle away; but they brought off a good store of arms and knapsacks, with what was more acceptable than either, had they been made of gold, namely, some bannocs of oaten bread, and pieces of mutton and other meat: they also got several spades, shovels, and pick-axes. Some French and English pieces of gold, taken from Captain Nugent, were divided between Captain Wilson, who took him, and one Burrel, who conducted him into the city. An English serjeant got his sword; but his scarlet coat, with its large plate buttons, was returned to him. The Derrymen lost but one officer in this action, Lieutenant Fisher, and two privates.

While this business was going on, the serjeant and two privates, who had deserted to the enemy on the preceding night, were sent back to the city, their arms and clothes having been taken from them. The enemy now desired a parley from one of their positions near Windmill-hill, and two men of the garrison, who went out to speak with them, were treacherously murdered. In the course of the evening the besieged tried the cruel experiment of tying a cow to a stake, and setting fire to

her, in hopes of drawing some of those belonging to the enemy near enough to be taken; but she frustrated the effort by breaking loose from the stake to which she had been tied, and would have ran into the Irish lines had she not been shot. A sad accident happened in one of the guard-houses in the city this day, by the blowing up of half a barrel of gunpowder, into which a spark of fire had fallen from a tobacco-pipe. It wounded and greatly disfigured two of the Irish prisoners, and two of the men who were guarding them.

On the twenty-sixth, the Rev. Andrew Hamilton and Mr. John Rider, the messengers between the Enniskilleners and General Kirk, arrived at Ballyshannon with the officers they had gone for, where they were received with great joy. The vessels which carried the arms and ammunition did not arrive at that place for two or three days afterwards. An oath was this day imposed upon the occupiers of houses and lodgings in Londonderry, for the purpose of obliging them to give a true account of the provisions in their possession. A competency for one week was allowed to them, according to their families, and the rest was taken to the public stores. Ensign McCarty and two other prisoners, who had been much hurt on the preceding day by the blowing up of gunpowder, were released this evening.

The garrison was reduced, on the twenty-seventh of this month, to four thousand four hundred and fifty-six men. The following market prices, from Walker's Diary, testify the extent of their sufferings from famine, and the degree of heroism which animated them in their refusals to surrender:—

Horse flesh, each pound, one shilling and eight-pence.

A quarter of a dog, fattened by eating dead bodies, five shillings and six-pence.

A dog's head, two shillings and six-pence.

A cat, four shillings and six-pence.

A rat, (fattened by eating human flesh,) one shilling.

A mouse, six-pence.

A pound of greaves, one shilling.

A pound of tallow, four shillings.

A pound of salted hides, one shilling.

A quart of horse blood, one shilling.

A horse pudding, six-pence.

A handful of sea wreck, two-pence.

The same quantity of chickenweed, one penny.

A quart of meal, when found, one shilling.

A small fluke taken in the river could not be purchased for money, and was to be got only in exchange for meal.

Here it may be observed, that the intermission of the taking of salmon and other fish for this and the two succeeding summers, made the fisheries of Ulster much more valuable for many years afterwards than they otherwise would have been. One of the chief causes of the decay of the salmon fishery is the unremitted and severe fishery of the rivers, by which means a sufficient number of mother fish, as the breeders are called, cannot get up to the spawning places, and so there was not an adequate stock for the succeeding years. The fisheries being usually farmed, those who hold them are interested in over-fishing them.

So great a necessity now pressed the defenders of London-derry, that Walker says they had no prospect of subsistence otherwise than by eating the bodies of the dead; and he mentions a fat gentleman of his acquaintance who hid himself for several days, because he imagined that some of the soldiers who were perishing by hunger, looked at him with a greedy eye. In the height of this distress, the spirit and courage of the sufferers were so great, that they were frequently heard to contend with some warmth in debates, whether they would take the debentures they expected from King William, in Ireland or in France; when, as their Reverend Governor observes, in his Diary of the Siege, they could not promise themselves twelve hours' life. To support their spirits among so many discouragements, he preached a sermon to them at this

time in the cathedral church; finding his own heart glow with confidence that God would not give them over to be a prey to their cruel and dastardly enemies, after so long and miraculous a preservation, he reminded them of several instances of the providential support they had experienced since the commencement of the siege. He dwelt upon the importance of their perseverance in the cause of the Protestant religion at that time, and, with irresistible eloquence, assured them that they would soon be delivered from their difficulties. Mackinzie says, however, that he preached a discouraging sermon at this time; but he was unsupported by any other authority in this improbable assertion; and the author of the poem found at Armagh, who appears to have been disposed to do ample justice to all those whose ministerial labours were conspicuous at this time, has the following passage on the subject:—

"In Saint Columba's Church, now every day, The church and kirk did jointly preach and pray; There Doctor Walker, to their great content, Did preach against a Popish government. Master Mackinzie, preached on the same theme, Teaching the love and fear of God's great name, Rowat of Lifford did confirm us still, He preached submission to Gon's holy will. When our deliverance pass'd all human belief, He prophesied, with truth, a quick relief. The same was taught us by the Reverend Crooks; And Hamilton, too, show'd it from his books, The ruling elder, Mills, declar'd the same, Foretelling aid six weeks before it came. While we against the Irish army fought, From morn till night these worthy preachers taught; And HE from whom all victories proceed, Bless'd their great labours in the time of need."

On the twenty-eighth of July a spy from the city informed the Irish army that the garrison had killed all their cows, horses, and dogs, and that their only hope was in the relief they expected from the fleet. It is stated in the Life of James II., that on this day the serjeants and private soldiers of the city sent out a paper to General Buchan, offering to surrender the town to General Hamilton next day, if they could obtain some favourable conditions for themselves; this, however, was probably one of these false rumours which were spread abroad with great industry at this time.

This morning Captain Charleton lost all the credit of his long sufferings during the siege, by quitting the city and deserting to the enemy on the very last day that he could have the slightest temptation to do so.

While affairs were in this critical state at Londonderry, the Enniskilleners got notice of the arrival of the Irish General M'Carty in Belturbet, with a considerable army, destined to besiege their town. On the twenty-eighth the officers sent by General Kirk arrived to them by water from Belleek, where they had taken boat on their way from Ballyshannon. They were received on the side of the town which they approached, by a guard of honour, the whole garrison firing three volleys to welcome them. All the inhabitants and sojourners in the town came in great crowds to the place where these officers landed, so that they could scarcely make their way to the castle, and nothing was heard but loud acclamations, welcoming them, and praising Gop that their English friends had not forgotten them. During this night an account came that M'Carty and his army advanced from Belturbet to Crom, where they were raising a battery to play upon the castle. The Governor was at that time ill of a fever, and Colonel Wolseley, the new commander-in-chief, received the express. On the next day, being the twenty-ninth, another express arrived from Crom, informing the Enniskilleners that M'Carty had begun to batter the castle at that place, and had made his approaches very near to it. The besieged killed a great number of the Irish army with their muskets, but being unfurnished with cannon.

and fearing the result of a regular siege, they sent this express imploring relief. On the same day Colonel Wolseley sent them a favourable answer, and for the purpose of their relief, recalled the troops from Ballyshannon, except a competent number to defend that town, in case Sarsfield, who had advanced with his army to Bundroose, within four miles of it, should attempt to take it.

Intelligence had been brought to Enniskillen on the twentyninth, that Lieutenant-General M'Carty intended to detach a portion of his army next day towards Lisnaskea, and to place a garrison in the castle there. In consequence of this, Lieutenant-Colonel Berry was sent next morning with seven or eight troops of horse, three companies of foot, and two troops of dragoons, to anticipate them, by taking possession of the castle of Lisnaskea. They had orders to place a garrison in it if it appeared tenable, if not, to burn it to the ground.

In the mean time the sufferings of the defenders of Londonderry approached towards their termination, by the relief of that city on the twenty-eighth day of July. Immediately after divine service, the ships in the Lough were seen to approach the distressed city, now in the last extremity to which famine and disease could reduce it. The impression made by their appearance on the besieging army, is thus described in the historical drama so often quoted in this work.

After a change of scene to the Irish camp, the Generals enter, and Hamilton thus addresses them:—

"Viewing our out-guards near Ennishowen, and casting my eyes towards the harbour, I saw four ships under sail, and waiting for about an hour, distinguished their English colours, and saw them come to anchor at Quigley's Point. They are no doubt provision ships for the relief of the rebels.

General Sheldon.—"They cannot well pass the fort of Culmore and our batteries; and the worst of all will be the

boom that lies across the river, and the batteries at both ends of the boom.

Hamilton.—"It is impossible they can escape us. Nothing that is made of wood can pass there. Down they sink to the bottom.

Rosen.—"Give orders that if these ships offer to weigh anchor, or hoist sail, the army be immediately alarmed, and drawn into their breast-works on each side of the river.

Waucop.—"We shall sink them if there were an hundred of them. The batteries on both sides of the river will dash them to the bottom in a moment.

Enter an Officer.

Officer.—"The ships have weighed anchor, and make all the sail they can. The wind and tide favour them.

Rosen.—"Play the bombs, discharge the cannon, let every engine be at work. Now rebels prepare for the halter," &c.

The defenders of the city, in the mean time, discharged eight pieces of cannon from the steeple of the cathedral, and slowly waved their crimson flag to signify the extremity of their distress. With a fair wind and a favourable tide to facilitate the approach of the relief before their eyes, now or NEVER was the simultaneous cry of the feeble and emaciated multitude on the walls. The ships approaching were the Mountjoy of Londonderry, Captain Micah Browning, commander, and the Phœnix of Coleraine, Captain Andrew Douglass, master. They were both laden with provisions, and were convoyed by the Dartmouth frigate, commanded by Captain Leake. The enemy fired incessantly on the ships from the fort of Culmore, and from both sides of the river as they sailed up, and the returns were made with the greatest bravery and effect. They passed the fort without sustaining any material injury, and the expectations of the besieged rose

into transports of joy, which was almost instantaneously succeeded by despair, when the Mountjoy, repelled by the boom, was run aground, and the enemy, who had crowded in multitudes to the water side, raised a loud huzza, as they launched their boats to board her. The terror which prevailed in the city at this moment is not to be described. The multitudes on the wall stood petrified in the silent agony of grief, too great for utterance; a faint and shrill cry from a few women and children, alone broke the dreadful silence, as it added to the horrors of the scene. The pallid indications of fear suddenly disappearing, was succeeded by a darkness of colour like that which marks the countenance seen by the light of sulphureous flames. "All features gathered blackness," and the general despondency was at its greatest height, when the Mountjoy fired a broadside at the enemy, rebounded from the shore, and the reaction of the vessel, aided by the sudden swell of the rising tide, floated her again into the deep water in the channel. Captain Douglass of the Phœnix, was at this time warmly engaged as he passed up, on the breaking of the boom, by the gallant Browning, who, while his vessel lay aground, was killed by a musket-ball from the enemy, which struck him upon the head as he stood upon the deck with his sword drawn, encouraging his men to the contest. King William afterwards settled a pension upon the widow of this gallant man, and in presence of the court, placed a gold chain about her neck. A portrait of this lady in full dress, ornamented by the royal present, is in the possession of her descendant, George Hamilton, Esq. of Hollymount, near Londonderry. Four of Browning's gallant crew shared his fate just as the vessel got afloat; and then the Dartmouth opened a heavy and welldirected fire upon the enemy's batteries, diverting them so from both vessels, that amidst a desponding yell from the crowds on each side of the river, they sailed up slowly indeed, by reason of a failure in the wind after they had passed Culmore, but steadily and majestically, to the utter confusion of their baffled enemies. It was ten o'clock in the night, when they anchored at the Ship-quay, upon which a general shout of acclamation was raised by the soldiers on the walls, and reiterated several times, while two guns were fired from the steeple, to give notice to the fleet of the safe arrival of the relief. Sir John Dalrymple, with his usual elegancy, says that this supply of provisions was received in Londonderry with silent gratitude, as if it had been a gift from heaven; not with the noisy rejoicings usual on such occasions. Captain Ash, however, who was an eye witness, tells us the reverse; and the record of the Armagh poem is, that in the overflow of joy, the bells of the cathedral chimed their melodious notes, while bonfires were kindled through the city, and cannon thundered from the walls. With respect to the long devout procession to the church, with which Dalrymple rounds his period, no mention is made either by Walker or Mackinzie, neither of whom would be unlikely to notice a circumstance so creditable to the religious feelings of their interesting congregations; and the fact is, that, at that hour of the night, while the town's-men were eagerly unloading the vessels, after forming a barricade by casks filled with earth against the heavy fire of the enemy, it would have been almost impossible to have accomplished so desirable an object as the collection of the garrison to a general thanksgiving.

The Phœnix contained from six to eight hundred bolls of meal, with which she had been laden in Scotland; and the Mountjoy carrying one hundred and thirty-five tons burden, brought from England her cargo of beef, pease, flour, biscuit, &c. all of the best kind. "This relief," says Walker, "arrived here to the inexpressible joy and transport of our distressed garrison, for we only reckoned upon two days' life. We had only nine lean horses left, and one pint of meal to each man. Hunger and fatigue of war had so prevailed

among us, that of seven thousand five hundred men regimented at the commencement of the siege, we had now alive but about four thousand three hundred, of whom at least one-fourth part were rendered unserviceable."

The besieging army continued a heavy fire on the city from their trenches during a considerable part of this night and next day, when they were seen burning several houses in the neighbourhood. One of these, according to tradition, was Prehen-house; and another, as stated in the Armagh manuscript, was the mansion of Sir Matthew Bridge, at Brook-hall. The castle of Raphoe was burned down at this time, and was not rebuilt for some years afterwards; Bishop Cairncross expended about a thousand pounds in re-edifying it.

In the course of this night the Irish army ran away from the position which they had occupied before Londonderry for one hundred and five days, having lost eight or nine thousand men and one hundred of their best officers, in their abortive attempt to reduce the city. Most of these fell by the sword, the rest died of fevers and dysentery, and a venereal disease of the most inveterate kind, and which appeared in a very remarkable manner on the bodies of several of their dead officers and soldiers.

Early on the morning of the first of August, the garrison sent out detachments to see what was become of the enemy. They saw them on their march, and following them, took some of their grenadiers prisoners in the act of burning the Protestant houses six or seven miles from the city, near St. Johnstown, on one side of the river, and the old Abbey of Grange on the other. Some, however, were tempted to pursue the retreating enemy too far, so that a rear guard of cavalry turned upon them and killed seven of them. Those who fled on the Tyrone side burned the church of Leckpatrick; but a protection, unexpectedly offered by an Irish officer to the Reverend John Sinclair, rector of that parish, saved his house

at Holy-hill, just as the retreating rapparees were putting fire to the roof of it. The messenger swam across the river with the protection, for which service he obtained a considerable reward. The adjoining village of Ballymagorry was consumed to ashes.

On the Donegal side, scarcely a Protestant house from Derry to Lifford escaped being burned, except that of Keys, of Cavanacor, to whom James had granted a protection on his return to Dublin. The want of cavalry in Derry, and the exhausted state of almost all the garrison, alone saved the Irish army from a prompt and destructive pursuit. On their arrival at Lifford and Strabane, they heard such accounts of the success of the Enniskilleners in Fermanagh, that they gave up their intention of forming encampments at these towns; broke four of their great guns in pieces, threw twelve cart-loads of arms into the river; and in their haste to get towards Charlemont, out of the reach of a triumphant enemy, marched off precipitately, leaving many of their sick and wounded men behind them.

On the termination of the siege, the governors, officers, clergy, and other gentlemen in the city and garrison of Londonderry, sent the following address to King William and Queen Mary, by the renowned Walker, who was received at court with all the honour due to his eminent services:—

"We, the most dutiful and loyal subscribers of this address, out of a deep sense of our late miserable state and condition, do hereby return our due acknowledgments to Almighty God, and to your sacred Majesty, and under you, to the indefatigable care of Major-General Kirk, for our unexpected relief by sea, in spite of all opposition of our industrious, but bloody and implacable enemies; which relief was not less wonderfully than seasonably conveyed to us, and that in the very nick of time, when we, who survived many thousands who died here of famine during the siege, were just ready to be cut off, and perish by the hand of barbarous, cruel, and inhuman wretches, who no sooner saw us delivered, and that they could not compass their

wicked designs against your Majesty's city, and our lives, for which they thirsted, than they immediately set the country around us on fire, after having plundered, robbed, and stripped all Protestants therein, as well those persons they themselves granted protection to, as others. We do therefore most sincerely rejoice with all our souls, and bless Gop for all his singular and repeated mercies and deliverances; and do for ever adore the Divine Providence for your Majesties' rightful and peaceable accession to the imperial crown of these kingdoms, the proclaiming of which was justly celebrated in these parts with universal joy; and we do, with all humble submission, present to your sacred Majesties our unfeigned loyalty, the most valuable tribute we can give, or your Majesties receive from us. And since the same Providence has, through much difficulty, made us so happy as to be your subjects, we come, in like humility, to lay ourselves at your royal feet, and do most heartily and resolvedly offer and engage our lives and fortunes in your service. And further, we do most unanimously join in a firm and unchangeable yow and resolution, of improving all occasions of becoming serviceable to your Majesty in what station soever it shall please God and your Majesty to place us, and will expose ourselves to all hazards and extremities, to serve your Majesty against the common enemy. From all which promises, vows, and services, we and every of us promise, without any exception or reserve, not to recede until our lives end.

"In testimony of all which we have hereunto subscribed our names at Londonderry, this 29th day of July, Anno Domini 1689.

George Walker.
John Mitchelburn.
Richard Crofton.
Thomas Lance.
Hugh Hamill.
Charles Kinnaston.
William Campbell.
Gervais Squire.
William Grove.
John M'Clelland.
James Graham.
William Thompson.
James Young.
Richard Cormack.
Oliver Upton.

Michael Rullack.
James Stiles.
James Cunningham.
Archibald M'Culloch.
Francis Obre.
Alexander Sanderson.
Archibald Sanderson.
Arthur Noble.
Philip Dunbar.
George White.
Thomas White.
James Gladstanes.
John Maghlin.
Adam Murray.

Arthur Hamilton.

Alexander Knox. Patrick Moore. John Humes. Robert Denniston. Marm. Stewart. James Fleming. Andrew Grigson. Christ. Jenny. Thomas Smith. Barth, Black, John Campbell. Robert Morgan. Michael Clenaghan. Richard Fane. Stephen Godfrey. William Hamilton. Robert Rogers. James Galtworth. Richard Islen. James Blair. Dudley Philips. John Buchanan. Edward Curling. William Church. Dalway Clements. Albert Hall. Matthew Cocken. Thomas Burnett. William Stewart. Francis Wilson. Matthew M'Clelland. George Crofton. William Babington. Robert King. John Logan. Alexander Rankin. Edmond Rice. Robert Walker. James M'Cormick. John Cochran.

Henry Murray. Henry Campsie. John Dobbin. Alexander Stewart. Thomas Guthredge. Thomas Johnston. Thomas Newcomen. John Halshton. Joseph Gordon. James Hairs. Andrew Hamilton. Adam Alcock. Robert Wallace. George Church. Richard Fleming. Henry Cust. John Crofton. Benjamin Wilkins. Thomas Lane. Joseph Johnston. Robert Baily. Daniel M'Custion. John Baily. Robert Lindsay. Francis Boyd. James Carr. > William Montgomery. James Moore. Nicholas White. John Fuller. Thomas Keys. Frederick Keys. Thomas Baker. John Hering. James Huston. Adam Downing. Abraham Hillhouse. John Mulholland. Robert Bennett.

William Dobbin.

James M'Cartney. Warren Godfrey. John Cunningham. Henry Lane. George Walker. Hamilton. Andrew Bailly. Edward Davys. John Hamilton. Thomas Ash. Robert Boyd. " Ralph Fullerton. Michael Cunningham. Robert Skinner. Richard Robinson. Robert Maghlin. Matthew Clark.

George Garnett. James Barrington. Henry Pearse. Alexander Ratcliffe. Thomas Adair. John Hamilton. Henry Everett. Daniel Fisher. John Cross-Wm. Cross. James Tracy. Bernard Mulholland. David Mulholland. Thomas Conlay. John Clements. William Manson. Theophilus Manson. James Manson.

The Enniskilleners, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Berry, marched on the last day of July from Lisnas-kea, towards the enemy, who lay about six miles from them. They had not proceeded more than two miles, when the scouts discovered, at Donough, a considerable body of horse and foot coming towards them, upon which they fell back to the main body, and all retreated towards the post they had moved from that morning, the enemy still advancing towards them. As they were double the number of the troops under Berry's command, he very judiciously continued his retreat till he got to more advantageous ground, having taken care to send off an express to Colonel Wolseley at Enniskillen, acquainting him with the situation of his army, and desiring prompt assistance.

Of two roads leading to Enniskillen from Lisnaskea, Berry took that which had a short time before been made through bogs and low grounds, nearer to Lough Erne than the old way, as being more secure, and having several passes on it

much easier to defend than the other. On this road he retreated in good order, the enemy still following him at some distance, till he came to a narrow causeway across a bog, about a mile from Lisnaskea. Two horsemen could scarcely pass abreast at this part of the road, which was about a musket-shot in length, and here Berry resolved to halt and repel the enemy till the arrival of the expected aid from Enniskillen. He placed his infantry and dragoons in a thicket of underwood at the end of the causeway, drawing a body of horse a little further off as a reserve, with which he proposed to support the other, and he gave the word "Oxford."

In a very short time, Colonel Anthony Hamilton, second in command under M'Carty, came in view with a considerable body of men. Alighting from his horse, he ordered the dragoons with him to do the same, and very bravely advanced near the end of the causeway, his men firing briskly at the Enniskilleners. It pleased God, however, on this, as well as many other occasions during this campaign, that after many volleys of shot from the Irish, not one of them took effect upon the Protestants, who being better marksmen, killed twelve or fourteen of them on the causeway, and wounded Colonel Hamilton in the leg. On receiving the wound he retreated a little, and mounting his horse, ordered another officer to lead on the men. Their second commander, with some of the private soldiers, fell dead in a few minutes from the shots of the ambuscade in the thicket, upon which the rest began to retreat, while their opponents, raising a shout, and crying out that the rogues were running, took the bog on each side of the narrow road over which the horse passed back with rapidity, and quickly turned the retreat into a disorderly flight. The Enniskillen horse soon overtook the foot soldiers and dismounted dragoons, among whom they made a great slaughter, chasing them through Lisnaskea, and nearly a mile beyond it. The loss on the Irish side would have been much greater had not Colonel Berry found it prudent to retreat, in consequence of information that General McCarty, with the main body of the Irish army, was advancing towards him. He therefore sounded a retreat, and brought back his men to the thicket at the end of the causeway where the engagement began, having killed about two hundred of the enemy, and made thirty prisoners, which he sent to Enniskillen, with several horse-load of arms, which he had also taken; all this was done before nine o'clock in the morning. At eleven, an express arrived to Berry, that Colonel Wolseley, who had taken the old road, had come up to his relief, and ordered him to advance and form a junction with him at the most above Lisnaskea. This was done immediately, and after some necessary consultation, the whole united body, consisting of sixteen troops of horse, three troops of dragoons, and twenty-one companies of foot, with some irregular troops, in all about two thousand men, advanced against the enemy, having given the word "No POPERY." This gallant band had little or no provisions with them, but the victory obtained by Berry with a small body of them in the morning, encouraged them so much that they unanimously resolved to fight their way to the enemy's provision carts, rather than return to Enniskillen for their dinner.

Colonel Wolseley sent on the forlorn hope about half-a-mile before his army. Colonel Tiffan led the first battalion of foot, consisting of about five or six companies, supported by a few troops of horse. Colonel Lloyd commanded the second battalion of infantry, consisting of nearly the same number, seconded in a similar manner by cavalry. The main body of foot was led on by Colonel Wolseley himself, followed by the rest of the horse, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Berry and Major Stone.

In this order they marched from Lisnaskea to Donough, through which they passed, and within half a mile of it got in view of the enemy's forlorn. About the same distance from

Newtownbutler, they discovered the Irish army posted very advantageously on a steep hill, commanding a long and narrow causeway through a bog, by which way only it could be approached from that side. The Enniskillen army, however, advanced against them with steadiness and vigour. Colonel Tiffan, with his battalion of foot, entered the bog on the right hand of the causeway, while Colonel Lloyd, with the body under his command, pushed on in the same direction on the other side. Colonel Wynn's dragoons, divided into two equal parts, supported Tiffan and Lloyd on foot. Lieutenant-Colonel Berry advanced at the same time on the causeway with his horse, Colonel Wolseley bringing up the main body in the rear, to send reinforcements to those who went before him, as occasion should require. In the mean time, the enemy very injudiciously exhibited a proof that they thought their position untenable, by setting the town of Newtownbutler and the houses in its neighbourhood on fire. After a weak opposition, the Enniskilleners gained the pass, and pursued them through Newtownbutler, and near a mile beyond it. The retreating army fell back in good order, and again took a position similar to the last one they had occupied, securing the narrow causeway leading to it by a piece of cannon. The pursuing army, making the same disposition as before, found the passage of their horse impeded by the fire of the cannon, till the foot advancing by degrees through the bog on each side killed the cannoneers, and rushed on towards the enemy on the hill, upon which the Irish horse took fright and fled towards Wattlebridge, deserting their foot. The foremost in this disgraceful flight was Lord Clare's regiment of horse, called the Yellow The tale of their Dragoons, from the colour of their facings. dishonour is yet told in the barony of Moyarta, near the mouth of the Shannon, where they had been raised. It is told in the way of dialogue, in which a person supposed to have witnessed the scene says, "Stop, stop, Yellow Dragoons!" to which one

of them replies, "not till I get to the bridge of Clare!" another, "no, no, till we come to the ford of Moyarta!" Captain Martin Armstrong, with a troop of cavalry, did great execution on these fugitives. The Irish infantry, now abandoned by their horse, and closely pressed by the Enniskilleners, fled into a large bog, towards Lough Erne on the right hand, throwing away their arms into the turf-pits as they went. An open country lay upon their right, through which they might easily have escaped; but with their usual want of presence of mind it did not occur to them to prefer it. They were followed by the Protestant foot through the bog, into a wood near the Lough, where no quarter being given to any but officers, five hundred of them took the water, and of these only one man escaped drowning; he got away safely by good swimming, though many shots were fired after him. During the whole of this night the pursuers were beating about the bushes for the Irish, and their officers were unable to recall them from the pursuit till next morning, by which time scarcely a man who had fled from them into the bog escaped death. There was a very remarkable stroke given by Captain William Smith in this battle: with one blow of his sword he cut off the upper part of a man's skull, just under the hat. As much of the skull as was within the hat, with all the brains it contained, was struck away from the under part of it, and not so much as a fibre of the skin remained to keep them together. General M'Carty, whom James had a short time before created Lord Mount-Cashel, remained with five or six officers in a wood near the place of action, from which he rode out suddenly and fired a pistol on those who were guarding the artillery. A shot from one of them immediately killed his horse under him, and a musket was clubbed to knock out his brains, when he received quarter from Captain Cooper. Being asked, why he hazarded his life so rashly, when he might have gone off with his cavairy, he replied, that as he saw the kingdom was likely to

be lost with his own army, which, with the exception of that before Derry, then much broken, was the best in King James's service, he came upon the artillery guard with a design to lose his life, and was sorry he had missed his aim, being unwilling to outlive that day.

This was probably the greatest victory which had ever been obtained over the Irish. They amounted to six thousand men, and were thus routed by one-third of that number. In the morning and afternoon of the day, two thousand of them were killed; five hundred, as already mentioned, were drowned in Lough Erne; and their general, with a great many other officers, and four hundred prisoners, were sent to Enniskillen. The Irish confessed that three thousand of their men were wanting, when those who remained arrived in Dublin, but they would not own that so many had been killed as had been reported: in shame for having been defeated by an army so inferior in number, they alleged that the chief loss was by desertion on their retreat. They lost seven pieces of artillery, fourteen barrels of gunpowder, a great quantity of cannon and musket balls, all their drums, and every stand of colours which they possessed. The loss on the side of the Enniskilleners was only two officers, Captain Robert Corry and Ensign William Bell, with about twenty private men, who were killed. The victors would now have marched to Dublin, as the Irish apprehended, to their great terror and consternation, and in all probability have carried all before them, had they not discovered, by a letter found in General M'Carty's pocket, when he was taken, that the Duke of Berwick, with an army from Derry, was to be at Enniskillen on a certain day, when Colonel Sarsfield, the writer of the letter, would invest it on the Connaught side with his army, then at Bundroose. The victorious army therefore returned with their prisoners and plunder to Enniskillen.

On the second day of August, they went to meet Sarsfield

on his way from Bundroose, but before they had got half way, an express arrived to them from Captain Folliot, informing them that the Irish army at Bundroose had retreated to Sligo, and that the arms and ammunition intended for them by General Kirk had been landed at Ballyshannon. Three troops of horse and as many companies of foot were sent to besiege it, and the rest returned to Enniskillen, resolved to go in quest of the Duke of Berwick's army, in Donegal. But on the fourth of the month, they heard of the relief of Londonderry, and so contented themselves with sending Lieutenant William Charleton with a troop of detached horse, to hang upon the retreating enemy's rear, and watch their movements. He returned to Enniskillen in three days afterwards, and reported that he had seen the rear of them pass by Castle Caulfield, within three miles of Dungannon, on their march to Charlemont. On the seventh, a solemn day of thanksgiving was observed in Enniskillen, for the great victory which God had given them over their enemies, and for the peace which they enjoyed by it, after the doubts and terrors of a bloody campaign; and after divine service, the following address from the governors, officers, clergy, and other inhabitants of the town, was drawn up and sent to King William and Queen Mary. The bearer of it was the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, Rector of Kilskerry, in the diocese of Clogher, who, like his admirable cotemporary, George Walker, was the recorder of the actions of his fellow-soldiers, as well as their counsellor in the hour of doubt and suffering:-

"WE, your Majesties' most faithful and loyal subjects, do, in the first place, offer up unto Almighty God our most humble thanks for the deliverance vouchsafed us from our merciless and bloody enemies; and, next, unto your most sacred Majesties, for your gracious care taken of us, in sending Major-General Kirk, to the relief of the poor handful of your Majesties' Protestant subjects, left in this place and Derry, whose miraculous holding out, under God, has been the preservation of the Protestant interest in this kingdom; and for those

worthy officers sent to this place by him; among which, the Honourable Colonel William Wolseley, our Commander-in-chief, under whose great and happy conduct, God has been pleased to bless us with the most signal and remarkable victory obtained over our enemy, in this or the former age. And as we were early in the demonstration of our loyalty, in proclaiming your most sacred Majesties on the eleventh of March last, so we shall persevere in the same dutiful allegiance to our lives' end, ever imploring the Divine Majesty to continue your prosperous reign long over us; most humbly begging your most sacred Majesties favourably to accept this Address of our most humble and sincere obedience, which we shall ever be ready to make good both with our hearts and hands.

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON, Governor.

Thomas Lloyd. Thomas Hart. Edward Dixy. Daniel Hodson. William Smith. Morgan Hart. Alexander Acheson. Isaac Collyer. George Dury. Thomas White. William Wiseheart. Robert Moore. Arnold Cosby. Jo. Price. Robert Johnston. James Graham. William Parsons. Ambrose Bedell. H. Hughes. Jason Hazard. Thomas Hughes. Ichabod Skelson. Henry Howel. Robert Stevenson. William Birney. James King. Jo. Rider.

Francis Folliot. John Dean. Francis Graham. William Irvine. Francis Aldrich. Thomas Roscrow. Matthew Webster. William Slack. Allan Catheart. Andrew Hamilton. James Johnston. James Golden. Robert Sterling. Henry Johnston. Robert Wear. Malcolm Cathcart. Robert Robinson. James Matthews. Martin Armstrong. Claud Bealy. Nivian Scott. Thomas Armstrong. Jo. Frizzle ----. Daniel Armstrong. Matthew Young. Marcus Buchanan.

George Watson.

Christopher Carleton. James Devitt. Charles Mac Fayden. Laurence Crow. Edward Ellis. William Blashford. Robert Clark. William Browning. James Johnston. James Browning. Roger Wilton. Edward Wood. F. King. Robert Drury. John Browning. Andrew Montgomery. Daniel French. Henry Smith. Richard Newstead. Francis Ellis. Hercules Ellis. John Corry. Joseph Neper. James Corry. John Sheriffe. George Corry. Samuel Forth. James Cathcart. Edward Cosbye. William Mac Cormick. William Campbell. Charles King. Hugh Montgomery. George Cooper. Hugh Cathcart. Hugh Corry. Edward Davenport. Aubry Ellis. Joseph Woodward.

William Gore.

Ro. Mac Connell. James Robinson. Jo. Roberts. Robert Ward. Bar. Gibson. Joseph Crozier. Hugh Blair. Joseph King. Thomas Young. John Fulton. George Hart. James Matthews. Thomas Johnston. William Johnston. Thomas Osborne. Thomas Scott. John Lawder. William Kittle. James Lucy. John Armstrong. Toby Molloy. Robert Vaughan. James Mitchell. Matthew Lindsay. Thomas Davenport. Allen Fulton. Paul Dean, Provost. James Ewart. Joseph Ballard. Thomas Shore. Richard Taylor. Edward Gubbin. Thomas Leturvel. George Hammersly. William Frith. Joseph Hall. Robert Johnston. Cornelius Donnellan. Theo. Bury. Hugh Galbraith.

William Charleton. George Russell. Aylet Sammes. James Campbell. George Cashel. Povey Hooks. William Ross.
John Galbraith.
Matthew Young.
James Delap.
William Ball.
Joseph Smith.

The seventeenth signature to this address was that of Cornet James Graham, of Mullinahinch, in the County of Fermanagh, great-grandfather of the author of this work. On the fourth of August, Captains White, Dobbin, and Hamilton, with the Rev. Thomas Jenney, of Mullaghbrack, and the Rev. John Knox, of Glaslough, were sent by the Governor to congratulate Major-General Kirk on his arrival in the city, and to thank him for having sent relief to it. Colonel Crofton had waited on him at Inch, desiring permission to lead out two or three hundred men to preserve the Protestant houses in the neighbourhood from destruction, and to secure a great quantity of cattle, which were likely to be lost to their rightful owners. This proposal was unfortunately rejected, and the consequence was, that in a few days afterwards some small parties of the Irish that remained after the retreating army, burned Newtown-Limavady and several gentlemen's houses in the county of Londonderry.

On the arrival of the Major-General, Governor Walker presented him with the keys of the city, and wishing to return to his sacred profession, as soon as the dangers which had called him from it had passed over, offered a surrender of his military command. Kirk declined to accept of either, but allowed Walker to dispose of his regiment as he pleased, and was given by him to Captain White, as a token of respect for that gentleman's known merit.

Walker then departed with the address to King William, of which the unmerited compliment to the unfeeling Major-Gene-

ral formed the only objectionable part. Kirk then issued several proclamations; one of these required, that all persons not in arms should repair to their respective habitations; a command reasonable enough, had troops been allowed to protect the country from rapparces, and if they had been permitted to take their substance with them. A particular order, however, was necessary for the removal of their goods, by which means, many who were compelled to remove from the city, were obliged to leave their beds and other necessary clothes behind them, so that they returned to their plundered habitations but ill provided for the approaching winter; and a considerable number of them, whose cattle had escaped from the hands of the enemy, were now robbed of their stock, great droves of which were brought to the city. Mackinzie accuses Colonel Mitchelburn, to whom Kirk gave the government of the city, of selling those cattle at a high rate to butchers and other purchasers; but this gallant officer, whose fair fame, like that of Walker, was assailed with great virulence at this time, was honourably acquitted of this and many other unfounded charges.

The men and officers were now drawn out to the field by regiments, and they went out the more cheerfully, because it had been reported that Kirk would have distributed two thousand pounds amongst them; in this, however, they were disappointed, and many of the officers were doomed to be discarded to make room for the General's favourites. The regiments of Mitchelburn and Crofton were united, and the latter officer reduced. The regiment of Hamill, of Lifford, was joined with Walker's, under the command of Captain White, to the severe injury of one of the most distinguished defenders of the city. Hamill went to London to remonstrate against this unjust act, and to solicit compensation for his losses, and a remuneration for his acknowledged services. The tradition, in Lifford, records his disappointment; his only

reward, according to it, being a civil reception and the present of a gold laced hat. But crowned heads cannot always afford to be generous, and too many just claims inevitably cause a bankruptcy of gratitude. Walker, as already noticed, fared better, and the widow of Captain Browning was honoured with a gold chain and a pension.

The regiment of Munro was incorporated with that of Lance, and its commander reduced. An effort was made to add Murray's heroic cavalry to another regiment, but almost to a man they indignantly refused to submit to this arrangement, and went away to their different habitations with their carbines and pistols. Kirk seized their saddles, and to consummate his villany, robbed Murray of his favourite horse, which had carried him victoriously through all his rencontres with the enemy, and which he had preserved through every vicissitude of the siege. There is no record of this injured hero's receiving any satisfaction for this gross injury, much less a suitable reward for his distinguished services. The largest of the estates forfeited at this time would have been small enough to offer him; and if he had a competitor in the number and importance of his services, it was Major Arthur Noble of Lisnaskea, in the county of Fermanagh, who also went unrewarded in any other way than by an approving conscience and the enjoyment of liberty. Captain St. John was made Colonel of the regiment which had belonged to Governor Baker, and to which Kirk wished to join Murray's. This being done, the General named new captains to most of the companies, for the purpose of making provision for many dependants who had followed him from England; these officers had the nomination of their own subalterns, so that almost all the officers who had served during the siege, including many who had raised their companies, were, by this cruel proceeding, put out of the profession in which their services had highly distinguished them. Of those who were allowed to retain their companies which they had raised and

armed at their own expense, many were compelled to give up fifteen of their men, to fill up the regiments whose new officers had not the means of recruiting them, and they were obliged to make up the deficiency on penalty of a dismissal from the king's service. This was deeply resented in the garrison, and cast a shade over the general joy at their late happy deliverance from slavery. One of the captains took the liberty of uttering a complaint, and instead of obtaining redress, was threatened with a gallows which Kirk had just ordered to be erected outside of the ravelin. Orders were also given to the sentries at the gates that no person should be allowed to pass out of them with any arms, and some who were passing out when the order came, were disarmed in consequence of it. This unexpected treatment seemed very harsh to the defenders of Londonderry, who could not conceive on what grounds they could be deprived of those arms which they had so lately used in a vigorous and successful defence of the civil and religious liberties of their country. The weak and sickly soldiers had no allowance from the public stores, which were shut up by Kirk's order immediately after his arrival from Inch, and his cruel policy in this respect obliged them to leave the city and beg their bread as well as their weakness would permit them to do so in an exhausted country, during one of the wettest seasons which had occurred for many years; the consequence of which was, that a great proportion of these deserving men perished by hunger and disease.

The new-modelled regiments which remained in the city were so straitened in their means of subsistence, that it was with difficulty they could maintain themselves. The following account of their means of subsistence may be deemed a curious statistical document; colonels daily pay, five shillings; lieutenant-colonels three shillings; majors two and six pence; captains two shillings; lieutenants twelve pence; ensigns eight pence; serjeants, corporals, drummers and private men, three

pence. The Enniskilleners were put upon the same scanty allowance; their heavy horsemen were allowed but nine pence, and their dragoons only six pence a day.

On the seventh of August, the garrison of Enniskillen, after a public thanksgiving for their great victory over General McCarty, sent the Rev. Andrew Hamilton to Major-General Kirk, to congratulate him on his happy success on the relief of Londonderry. He was received very favourably by that officer, who sent him back on the ninth of the same month, with orders to Colonel Wolseley to send him five hundred horse and two hundred dragoons, with which, and the force which he had newly modelled, and incorporated with his own army, he marched in a few days afterwards to join Duke Schomberg in besieging Carrickfergus.

To pursue the narrative of the actions of the men of Londonderry and Enniskillen* any further at this time, would

* A vindication of Governor Walker's account of the Siege of Derry was published in London about the close of the year 1689, containing the following passages, which may with propriety be inserted here, viz:

"Mr. Walker is upbraided with the imperfection of his account of the siege. This matter he will not dispute with his accusers, for it is impossible it could be otherwise, or that the little time and convenience he had to be exact in such a thing could prevent it. He is the more willing to allow this, because two very extraordinary things occur to him, which at the writing of that book he had forgotten, and they being so considerable in demonstrating that providence which attended the defence of the town, and that was so remarkable in its deliverance, he begs to insert them in this paper.

"In the account of the Siege you may find that people every day were going out of Derry, the enemy by that means had constant intelligence, and we had reason to be under great apprehension and concern, more especially for our ammunition; we therefore considered how to preserve that, and having a great quantity of it in Mr. Campsie's cellar, we removed it to another place. The very next day after

swell this volume to a size beyond the limits necessarily assigned to it, and it remains only to transmit to succeeding generations a record of one of the celebrations of the shutting of the gates of this city, that which took place on the recurrence of the centennary anniversary of that memorable event, in proof that the spirit of the men of Derry has continued through the lapse of time as unchanged and unchangeable as the genius of that intolerant Church, which first called it into action, and still keeps it on the alert, notwithstanding all the miserable efforts of shallow politicians to extinguish it, and prostrate our Church and Constitution at the foot of an implacable foe:—

On the fifteenth of October, 1788, John Conyngham, Mayor, David Ross, and H. Mitchell, Esqrs. Sheriffs, and Stephen Bennett, Esq., issued a notice that the Mayor and Corporation of Londonderry, zealous to revive in the breasts of the Protestant generation, and transmit to posterity such principles as actuated their heroic ancestors, had resolved on a secular commemoration of the return of that memorable day, the seventh of December, 1688, when the gates of their city were closed against a bigoted tyrant, a day so honourably interwoven with that grand æra of our Constitution, THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, which to our happy experience, has been terminated by extensive and elaborate provisions for the general liberty. On the fourth of November ensuing, being the eve of that memo-

we had removed it a bomb broke into the cellar, and if our gunpowder had been there, we would certainly have been destroyed.

[&]quot;Another thing of as great moment was omitted, and that was, a bomb from the enemy broke into a cellar near Butcher's-gate. Some had the curiosity to examine what mischief it had done, and there they saw seven men lying dead, that had been working at a mine unknown to us, and that if it had not been for so miraculous a countermine, they might have gone on with their work and ruined us."

rable day which, under the sanction of the Act of the 17th and 18th of Charles II., commonly called the Act of Uniformity of Public Prayers, a day of public commemoration of the deliverance of King James I. and the Protestants of England, from the most traitorous and bloody intended massacre by gunpowder, and also for the happy arrival of KING WILLIAM for the deliverance of our Church and nation, has been appointed, and a form of prayer and thanksgiving for these blessings inserted in the Liturgy; a meeting was held in the Town-Hall of Londonderry, when it was unanimously resolved, that the proposal of the Mayor and Corporation should be most cheerfully acceded to, and that a secular commemoration of the SHUTTING OF THE GATES should be held. It was also resolved, that a public monument should be erected, to commemorate that glorious event, and a committee of the Corporation, consisting of Messrs. Bateson, Achison, Moore and Schoales, should be added to those appointed by the Corporation; Mr. Bateson to be Treasurer, and Mr. Achison, Secretarv.

On Thursday, the seventh of December, (O. S.) 1788, the dawn was announced by the beating of drums, the ringing of bells, and a discharge of the cannon which had been used during the siege; and a red flag, the emblem of a virgin city, was displayed on the cathedral. If a magistrate or military officer had interfered to prevent the hoisting of this flag or the ringing of these bells on this occasion, he would have been sent to a lunatic asylum, and the mob of all denominations would have pelted him with stones on the way. The city was almost immediately in motion, each person seemed eager to bear his part in the rejoicings of the day, and the glow of honest enthusiasm was apparent in every countenance.

At half past ten o'clock the Procession was formed upon the Ship-quay, and moved off in the following order:— The Corporation and City Regalia.
The Clergy.
Officers of the Navy.
Forty sixth Regiment.
Londonderry Associated Volunteer Corps.
Committee and Stewards.
Merchants and principal Citizens.

Merchants' Apprentices, preceded by Mr. Murray, the great grandson of Colonel Murray, carrying the sword with which his gallant ancestor slew the French General Maumont.

Tradesmen's Apprentices.

The Young Gentlemen of the Free-School.

Masters of Ships, and Seamen.

It is scarcely possible to do justice to the beautiful and august appearance exhibited at this stage of the solemnity, nor was it easy to behold, without the most lively emotion, so respectable a body of free citizens, thus publicly commemorating the heroic achievements of their ancestors, on the very spot which was the scene in which they were performed, a spot which should be as dear to the inhabitants of the British isles, as the plains of Marathon were to the ancient Grecians. But the show itself, distinct from the occasion, was extremely splendid; every thing was suitable and becoming, nor was any circumstance omitted that could add dignity to the scene. The universal wearing of orange ribands had a very happy effect, and the band of citizens, however otherwise respectable, received a vast addition to its interest from the elegant appearance of the Stewards who preceded them, and consisted of the following young gentlemen of the city, dressed in a handsome uniform of blue and orange, viz:-George Schoales, George Curry, Andrew Ferguson, George Knox, Roger Harrison, and William Armstrong, Esgrs.

The Cathedral could not possibly have admitted the multitude who composed the procession, had not every necessary precaution been used. The city never, never before witnessed so throng an assembly; the galleries, the aisles, and all the avenues of the church were crowded, and many hundreds returned unable to obtain entrance.

Divine service being performed, an admirable sermon was delivered by the Very Reverend Dean Hume. His text was Joshua iv. 24. Nothing could be better adapted to the occasion, or more replete with just and elevated sentiments. After the sermon, a selection of sacred music was performed from the Oratorio of Judas Maccabæus, in which that fine air, so well suited to the occasion, "Tis Liberty, Dear Liberty alone," seemed to give the highest satisfaction to the auditory.

From the church the procession marched in the same order to the meeting-house, where the Rev. Mr. Black delivered an oration, which evinced at once his knowledge of British history, and his ardent zeal for liberty.

On returning from the meeting-house, a scene unexpectedly presented itself to the eye, as novel as it was agreeable to the beholders: his Majesty's ship, the Porcupine, commanded by Captain Brabazon, appeared in the harbour. She was completely dressed, or rather covered over with a variety of the most splendid colours, and formed a spectacle equally majestic and beautiful: she came on purpose to do honour to the festival. On approaching the quay she was saluted by a discharge of twenty-one guns from the ramparts, which she returned with an equal number. The Sea-flower, a cutter belonging to his Majesty's navy, accompanied her, and added to the grandeur of the show. So large a ship of war was never before seen in the harbour of Londonderry. The Dartmouth, by which the city was relieved in 1689, came nearest to her in size, and it is not unworthy of remark, that the point of time in which the Porcupine and Sea-flower appeared, was the very same in which the Dartmouth and Phænix were first discovered by the distressed garrison, viz: when the citizens were

assembled at divine service in the cathedral. Thus, by a happy coincidence, the approach of those vessels formed a most lively representation of that memorable event, THE RE-LIEF OF LONDONDERRY. The first procession had scarcely terminated when another of a different kind commenced. Some of the lower class of citizens had provided an effigy representing the well-known Lundy, executed in a very humorous style, with a bundle of matches on its back; with this they perambulated the streets, and having repeatedly exposed it to the insults of the zealous populace, they burned it in the market-place with every circumstance of ignominy. This piece of pageantry afforded no small entertainment to innumerable spectators, nor was it barren of instruction to an attentive mind, as it marked out, in striking characters, the unavoidable destiny of TRAITORS, who, having sacrificed to their own base interests the dearest rights of honour and conscience, are deservedly consigned over to perpetual infamy, and become everlasting objects of detestation even to the meanest of the people.

At two o'clock the forty-sixth regiment and the volunteer corps paraded. The Apprentice Boys' Company, commanded by Captain Bennet, went through the ceremonial of shutting the gates, supported by the regulars and volunteers in columns. They then returned to the Diamond with King James's colours in triumph, where a feu-de-joie was fired, in concert with the batteries upon the ramparts, and the ships in the harbour.

At four o'clock the mayor and corporation, the clergy, the officers of the navy and army, the clergy of the Church of Rome, the gentlemen from the country, the volunteers, citizens, scholars, and apprentices, &c., sat down to a plain but plentiful dinner in the Town-Hall. The toasts were constitutional, and well suited to the occasion; no man was idiot

enough to object to drink to THE GLORIOUS MEMORY of that great Prince who saved the religion of the Protestant, and the liberty of all other professors of Christianity. The assembly was necessarily mixed, and extremely crowded, the guests amounting nearly to a thousand persons, and yet regularity, decorum, and complacency, pervaded the whole company. Religious dissensions, in particular, seemed to be buried in oblivion, and Roman Catholics vied with Protestants in expressing, by every possible mark, their sense of the blessings secured to them by the event which they were commemorating, and the part which they took in the celebration of this joyful day was really cordial, standing on record in strong contrast with the brutal ignorance of the agitators of the present day, who load the name of their deliverer with obloquy, and consider the honours paid to his memory as an insult to their religion.

Among the guests, on this interesting occasion, was a man who had been actually present at the siege; born a short time before the investment of the city, he was nursed in a cellar during the whole of that memorable time. The company were much struck with the singularity of the circumstance, and gazed with intense interest upon the venerable old man, who had breathed the same atmosphere with the immortal Walker, Mitchelburn, and Murray. A subscription was set on foot, for the purpose of raising the necessary means of protecting this veteran from the icy grasp of poverty in extreme old age.

In the afternoon the soldiers were liberally entertained in their barracks; and several houses were opened for the accommodation of the sailors, where they were plentifully regaled with beef, punch, &c. &c.

The windows of the Town-Hall were ornamented by splendidly illuminated paintings, designed and executed by the ingenious Mr. Black. The subjects and disposition of them were as follows, viz:

FERRY-QUAY STREET.

The shutting of the gates by the Apprentice Boys.

BISHOP STREET.

The genius of Londonderry fixing the imperial crown upon the head of King William, and trampling on a figure representing despotism; at the top was the date of a proclamation, made in this city, of the accession of that great prince and his illustrious consort to the throne, March 20th, 1689.

BUTCHER'S STREET.

A monument: upon the right of the basement, the Rev. George Walker, with a sword and Bible, and under it a trophy, with the date of his appointment. On the left Colonel Murray; at his feet the body of the French General Maumont; and beneath, a trophy, with the date of the combat, April 21, 1689. In the centre of the basement was exhibited a view of Londonderry. On the centre of the pyramid, a figure of Fame, with a laurel, bearing a medallion, in which the genius of the Maiden City appeared in contest with a tiger. At the top an urn.

SHIP-QUAY STREET.

THE RELIEF OF LONDONDERRY, a view from the barrack rampart. The British ships appeared emerging from the smoke, after the breaking of the boom, the garrison rejoicing in different attitudes. At a distance King James's army striking their tents, and retiring in confusion.

Besides these, many transparent pictures appeared in different parts of the town. The houses were splendidly illuminated, and a grand display of fire-works, from Ship-quay gate, concluded the entertainments of the evening.

On the following day the festival was continued; and, that every class of people might have some entertainment, suited to their peculiar taste, the carcass of an ox, decorated with orange ribands, was drawn at noon through the principal streets to the Diamond. It was afterwards cut into pieces, and distributed with bread and beer to poor house-keepers.

In the evening the festival was concluded with a ball and supper. The company was more numerous than had ever been seen on any former occasion, yet every thing was conducted with propriety and regularity. The general decorum that was preserved, both at the ball and at the entertainment the preceding day, was owing, in a great degree, to the gentlemen who acted as stewards. The committee deserved much applause for this well-judged arrangement, and the gentlemen themselves were entitled to the thanks of the citizens for their care in preserving good order, and in accommodating the company. During the continuance of the festival the weather was peculiarly favourable; and we learn, with very great pleasure, that no disagreeable accident happened, although the contrary might have been feared, from the prodigious multitudes that thronged together, especially at the cathedral and the meeting-house on Thursday. Throughout the whole of this business no sentiment was more universally observable than that of LOVE TO THE SOVEREIGN. The day had scarcely dawned when "God save the King," sounded from the bells; with the same tune the Procession was both received and dismissed at the cathedral. It was the favourite song in the entertainment on Thursday, and it was sung in full chorus at the ball on Friday. In short, it was apparent, that, although the joy natural to the occasion was strongly felt and universally diffused, it was deeply blended with an affectionate concern for our beloved and afflicted Monarch.

Thus terminated the festival. Judicious in its origin, respectable in its progress, and happy in its conclusion. The event and its commemoration, it may be said, were worthy of each other. No religious animosities, no illiberal reflections on past events poisoned the general joy and triumph. The

genius of Ireland seemed to preside, repressing in the Protestants all irritating marks of exultation, and exciting in the members of the Church of Rome the feelings of thankfulness for the deliverance of their persons and properties from the shackles of a lawless and intolerable despotism.

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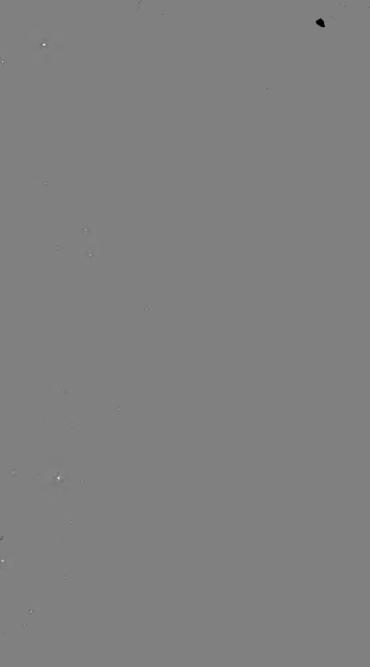
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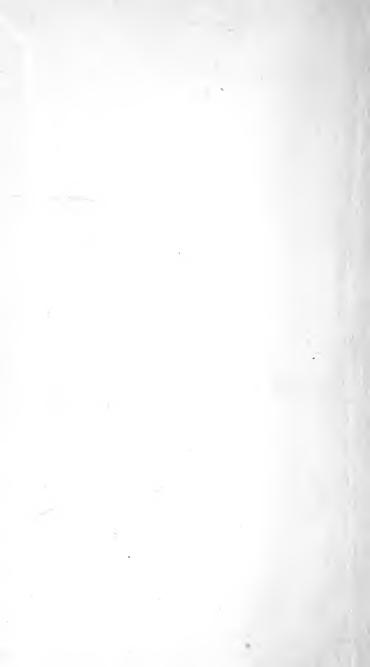
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